Delaware History

Volume IV *March 1950* Number 1

THOMAS ROBINSON: DELAWARE'S MOST PROMINENT LOYALIST *Harold Hancock* 1

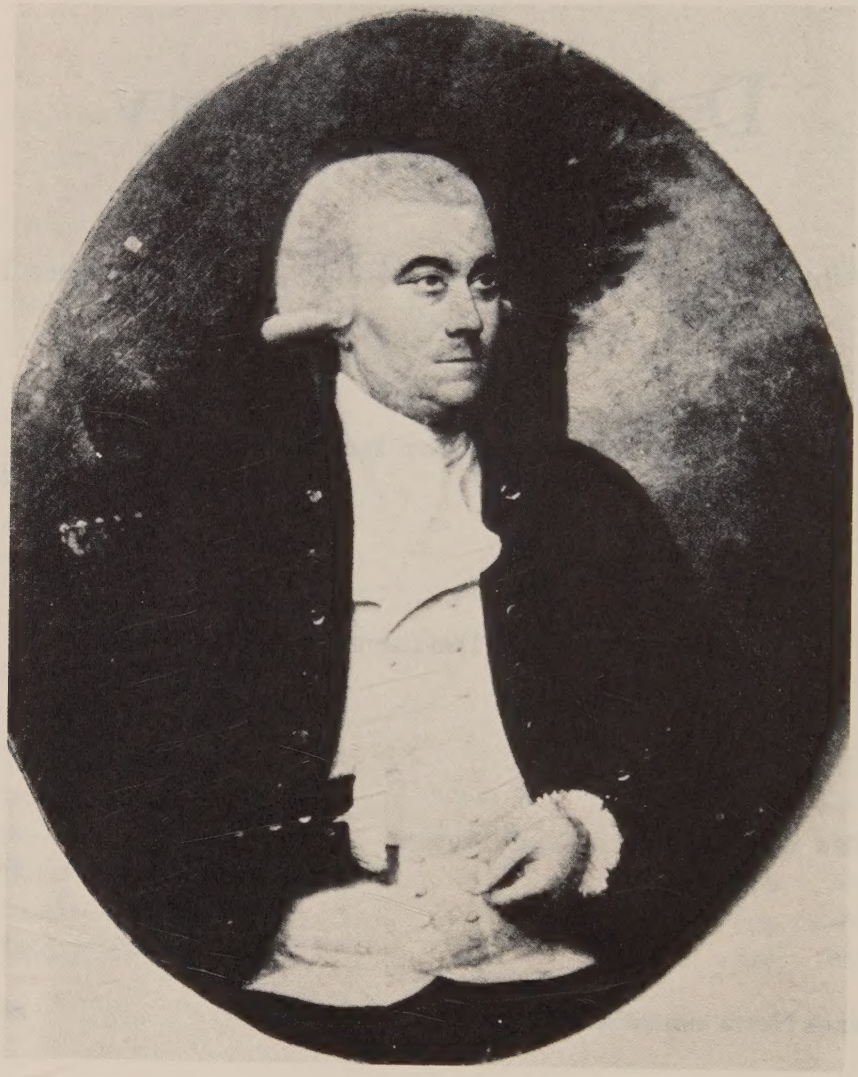
THOMAS GARRETT'S LETTERS TO TWO LADIES IN BRITAIN *W. W. Comfort* 37

THE SALT BUSINESS IN EARLY SUSSEX COUNTY *James M. Tunnell, Jr.* 48

NEWS NOTES AND BOOK REPORTS 60

A Publication of

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE



THOMAS ROBINSON

The original portrait of Thomas Robinson, reproduced above, is owned by his descendant and namesake, Thomas Robinson of Georgetown, Delaware, and is reproduced with his permission from a photograph by George Valentine Massey II of Dover.

Thomas Robinson: Delaware's Most Prominent Loyalist

By HAROLD HANCOCK*

THE most important of the Delaware loyalists from the point of view of influence, though not of wealth, was Thomas Robinson of Sussex County. No other loyalist was so active in politics, commanded so much respect, and instituted such active measures to keep the lower counties faithful to their British allegiance. In many ways he contributed to the staunch loyalism of Sussex County. Therefore the fragmentary material in existence illustrating his career and hardships during the Revolution is of considerable interest, though not large.[1]

In 1775 Robinson was 45 and at the height of his vigor.[2] In addition to conducting a store, he owned over 1,000 acres of farmland in Indian River and Rehoboth hundreds, parts of which he leased, and the remainder of which he tilled with the aid of eight slaves. He was a prominent member of St. George's Chapel near Angola, of which he was a vestryman. That his neighbors had confidence in him was shown by his repeated elections to the Assembly. Caesar Rodney and other political leaders found it advisable to consult him frequently about political matters as the acknowledged head of the Sussex delegation. This secure and satisfactory way of life Robinson rejected for duty to his King and exile.

Although Robinson had been a member of a large committee in Sussex County organized to raise money for the

*Mr. Hancock, who is a native of Dover, is at present assistant professor of history and government at Otterbein College in Ohio. Part of the material for his article was gathered while he was teaching in England.

1. Footnotes are used only when the material is not reproduced in the documents following. The biographical sketch is based partly upon the account in the author's book, *The Delaware Loyalists* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, New Series, No. III, Wilmington, 1940), pp. 58-61.

2. Records of St. George's Parish shown the author through the courtesy of the rector, the Rev. J. O. Phillips of Lewes, reveal that Thomas Robinson, son of Peter and Catherine Robinson, was born July 11, 1729.

relief of the port of Boston in 1774, he had opposed in Assembly the sending of a delegation to the first Continental Congress and refused to be one of those elected. As head of the "Church party" his disapproval towards events became more evident during the following year.

A Committee of Correspondence had been formed in Sussex County on June 20, 1775, though it was not until taunts of inefficiency and fear were made that the Committee attacked its most powerful enemy. But his attempts "openly and boldly to stamp his vile and slavish ministerial principles upon the weak and unwary, over too many of whom in the forests of Sussex and Maryland, by means of his office and store, he has indeed too much influence" required that something be done. Witnesses testified that Robinson had sold tea, had declared Congress to be an "unconstitutional body of men," and had considered the poor "a pack of fools" to arm against the King. Summoned to appear before the group on July 22, he sent word "that he did not, nor could not think of coming before them, unless he could bring forty or fifty armed men with him." Resolving that Robinson was "an enemy to his Country and a contumacious opposer of liberty and the natural rights of mankind," the Committee commanded all persons to break off all dealings and commercial relations with him. In a letter to the *Pennsylvania Journal* in December, Robinson complained that the Committee had exceeded its powers, for only a few members had signed the resolutions. Five of its members in a written statement declared the charges against the Sussex countian to be "without foundation." The Committee had failed to cow its most respected opponent.

When Robinson was on his way to a meeting of the Assembly in March, 1776, he was jailed by militia officers at Dover until his conduct could be investigated. After his companion, Colonel Jacob Moore, who was likewise a member of the Assembly, drew his sword and dramatically offered to defend Robinson's life at the risk of his own, he also was held. Members in the Assembly from Kent County urged the immediate release of the two delegates on account of urgent

business. Having expressed regret for their imprudent actions and agreed to allow the legislature to determine their fitness for a seat in the Assembly, they were allowed to proceed to New Castle. A resolution signed by the militia officers at Dover specifically exempted Thomas Rodney from ordering the seizure. "Timoleon" gives George Read, "tyrant of Delaware," the credit for the failure to prosecute.

Following the recommendation of Congress to establish governments friendly to the idea of independence, the Whigs in June, 1776, circulated petitions calling a constitutional convention. The Tories immediately circulated a counterpetition, which Robinson claimed that he had composed. The Tories asserted that they obtained 5,000 signatures, and the Whigs, only 300. As John Clark of Kent County was on his way to present the Tory document to Congress, he was seized, put in the pillory, and the petition destroyed.

This event, said Robinson, led directly to the insurrection. Under his direction and command, 1500 men assembled near Lewes and requested arms and ammunition from Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, which the commander of the *Roebuck* was forced to refuse in view of his scanty supply. The small garrison at Lewes was blockaded until Congress sent 3,000 militiamen from Pennsylvania under Colonel Miles to disperse the Tories. Along with other leaders placed under bond, Robinson was forced to post two bonds of £2,500 each. The Assembly soon pardoned all the participants.

Shortly afterwards Robinson left Delaware, though the exact time of his departure is unknown. J. F. D. Smyth, an escaped British prisoner from Baltimore jail and a refugee in Sussex County, stated that Robinson boarded the *Roebuck* on March 13, 1776, to escape.[3] According to Robinson's own statements and legislative record, the date is erroneous. Moreover, he had led an insurrection near Lewes in June, 1776. In his petition to the loyalist commissioners and in answer to questions by them, Robinson stated that he had been charged with furnishing supplies to the *Roebuck* in 1776 and being

3. J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), II, 340.

ordered seized by the Assembly, he had fled to the British man-of-war *Preston* in January, 1777. The proceedings of the Assembly reveal that Robinson was directed to be imprisoned as "an Enemy to the American cause" in January, 1777, because of a letter written in November to James Garrigen of New York.[4] Timoleon recorded that Robinson was also ordered seized by the legislature because of an intercepted letter to a friend in New York describing the success of the King's followers in an election in Sussex County.[5] In an application for his return to Delaware in 1786, he mentioned that he left the state in March, 1777. One can safely conclude that his departure occurred in January or March, 1777, after the Whigs made conditions uncomfortable for Tories.

When Howe sailed up the Chesapeake in August, 1777, Robinson aided him in obtaining pilots. Robinson had suggested that Howe land him with 500 men near Lewes, where 6,000 men might be recruited on a march up the peninsula to Howe's landing place. During the winter Robinson resided in Philadelphia, apparently at the same place as the captured President McKinly. He accompanied Colonel Campbell to Georgia in 1778, and in 1779 Sir Henry Clinton made him Captain of the Safe Guards at Charleston, with pay of five shillings per day. By 1780 he had returned to New York, to which place he was interested in having his son Thomas sent under flag of truce. He was also trying to secure possession of the Delaware state records, part of which had already been destroyed in Philadelphia. A loyalist friend in New York named Robert Alexander requested his aid in 1780 in establishing the commercial importance of Delaware, in order to support the former's argument that for military reasons the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake bays should be occupied by the British, and for this reason Robinson estimated the shipping on streams in lower Delaware between 1770 and 1774.

In September, 1781, Robinson was writing to his brother

4. *Votes of the House of Assembly* (Wilmington, 1777), p. 36.

5. "Timoleon" [presumed to be the pseudonym of Dr. James Tilton], *The Biographical History of Dionysius, Tyrant of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1788), p. 31.

Peter in an unsigned letter, urging him to aid in establishing a line of communication with Lord Cornwallis on the York River. One person was to be engaged, possibly from Tangier's Island, to contact Lord Cornwallis, while another would carry forwarded messages to a secret rendezvous in Shattor's Island, the pitch of the Cape, or Cedar Creek, where they would be taken to New York. Thus it was hoped that a two-way system of communication would be set up. The plan was to be put into action with the greatest secrecy, with Peter Robinson remaining in the background and the agents unknown one to the other. The unsigned copy was supposedly made by Thomas McKean[6] and bears a notation that the original was written by Thomas Robinson to his brother Peter. A confirming letter signed by George Beckwith and Beverly Robinson, possibly Thomas' cousin and a prominent New York loyalist,[7] mentions the interest of the commander-in-chief of the British army Clinton in the scheme. Whether Peter Robinson refused to have anything to do with the plan, whether the letters were intercepted before reaching him, or whether the speedy surrender of Yorktown prevented its completion is not known. Probably nothing resulted from the effort, for it is not mentioned among Thomas Robinson's services to the British.

Apparently in 1783 Robinson left New York for Nova Scotia, where he acquired a farm near Wilmot. In 1784 he gave evidence before the loyalist commissioners in the Canadian province. In July, 1786, he made his will at Wilmot, but in September he was at New Castle, Delaware, petitioning Governor Van Dyke to permit his return for reasons of health. Two months later, on November 22, 1786, he died at the home of his brother Peter in Sussex County and was buried in St. George's churchyard near Angola.[8]

Concerning his family, his wife Priscilla had died in 1775

6. In the opinion of Judge Richard S. Rodney, Miss Gertrude Brinckle, Miss Ruthanna Hindes, and the writer, the letter is not in the handwriting of Thomas McKean.

7. According to a notation in the card index in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Thomas and Beverly Robinson were cousins.

8. The tombstone is at the right of the walk leading to the main entrance of St. George's Chapel near Angola, Delaware.

at the age of 31.[9] Of his four children, one whose name is unknown died during the war. Thomas and Peter accompanied their father to Nova Scotia, and the former became a half-pay ensign in the British navy. Arcada Robinson Cannon probably remained in Delaware at the home of relatives.

By the terms of the will, Thomas and his two uncles were appointed executors. His two sons divided a farm of 500 acres in Nova Scotia, or its value if it were purchased by a tenant. In addition, Thomas received £400 Nova Scotia currency and some personal effects; Peter gained £600 Nova Scotia currency, the interest of which was to be used for his education; while Arcada was given £200 Nova Scotia currency and some land. One uncle was granted a slave, and the other, a drab-colored suit. The will was proved on July 26, 1788, and apparently a final settlement made in 1798 after the death of Thomas.[10] Nothing was said about the claims placed before the loyalist commissioners.

Robinson declared that he had lost property valued at £34,094.10.0 Congressional currency, or £4,084 sterling. The commissioners, however, were skeptical about the figures presented, perhaps due to accusations of exaggeration and the sharing of some property with his brother Peter. About 1790 the commissioners fixed his losses at £3,617 and made an award of £2,558, later adjusted to £1,772.[11] Neither his claims of losses nor his award was as great as those of two other wealthy Delaware loyalists. Joshua Hill lost property valued at £8,693, for which he received £3,280, and Joshua North placed a claim of £4,392, for which he was given £3,090 besides a pension of £30 per year.[12]

In looking at the portrait of Thomas Robinson still in possession of his descendents in Sussex County, one is impressed —or thinks one is—by a determined chin, forceful bearing,

9. The tombstone is next to her husband's.

10. Sussex County Wills, Vol. A 96, p. 176 (Delaware State Archives, Dover, Delaware).

11. Audit Office 12, Vols. 109, 258 (Public Record Office, London, England).

12. Audit Office 12, Vols. 109, 118, 174.

and flashing eyes.[13] He was not the sort of person to be intimidated by the Dover Light Infantry, the Sussex County Committee of Correspondence, or Whig neighbors. He was a man used to commanding and to being obeyed—a leader of men and of their opinions. It would be interesting to know more about his family, education, and physical characteristics. His record in the British army was creditable. It is pleasant to recall that he was permitted to spend the last few months of his life at his brother's home in Sussex County. If he had become a patriot, he would probably be revered and honored along with other prominent Delaware revolutionary heroes. Instead he opposed separation from Britain, like many other Delawareans, and even though his role on the British side was honorable, energetic, and distinguished, today he is almost entirely forgotten in his county and state, both of which he loved.

Reports of the Subcommittee and General Committee of Correspondence of Sussex County in July, 1775.[14]

To the PUBLIC.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many rumours and intimations that have been frequently spread, that Thomas Robinson, Esq; of Sussex on Delaware, was counteracting the wise, prudent, and manly measures, recommended by the Hon. Continental Congress, to put a stop to the calamities of America, and, if, possible, avert ministerial vengeance, which, like a torrent with increasing violence, is rushing down on our heads:—Yet the Committee out of tenderness to his character, (as no vouchers appeared) considered those vague reports as not worthy of their notice, and therefore declined making enquiry into them: But, Mr. Robinson, weakly imagining that this tenderness and lenity proceeded from fear, began to vaunt and exult, and with an effrontery ever the companion of ignorance, proceeded more openly and boldly, to stamp his vile and slavish ministerial principles upon the weak and un-

13. The portrait, which is about twelve by fourteen inches, painted on an oval piece of wood, is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Robinson of Georgetown, and is reproduced here with their permission from a photograph made by Mr. George Valentine Massey II of Dover.

14. *Pennsylvania Journal*, Oct. 18, 1775. Reproduced with the permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

wary, over too many of whom in the forests of Sussex and Maryland, by means of his office and store, he has had indeed too much influence.

Since which time the Sub Committee met at Dagsberry, the 18th July, 1775, and receiving information, cloathed with better circumstances, ordered the authors immediately to be brought before them—who deposed as follows:

PETER WATSON, being duly sworn upon the holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, That on Monday the 10th of this instant, July, being at Thomas Robinson's store, on the head of Indian River, he saw John Gozlin, clerk to said Robinson, weigh and sell, two small parcels of Bohea Tea, one of which he delivered to a girl, the other to Leatherberry Barker's wife; which aforesaid Tea he took out of a large canister, that he judged would hold about twelve or fifteen pounds, and further saith not.

PETER WATSON.

Sworn to and subscribed this 18th day of July, 1775, before
JOHN DAGWORTHY.

True copy, Simon Kollock, Clerk.

ROBERT BUTCHER, being duly sworn on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that being in company with Thomas Robinson Esq; the said Robinson asked him what those Committees were doing: he told him they were advising the people to muster, in order to defend their liberties: Robinson replied, that they were a pack of fools, for it was taking up arms against the King, and that our Charters were not annihilated, changed, or altered by the late Acts of Parliament, and therefore we ought to obey the King, and those that were put in authority under him: and that the great People were only leading the poor into a premunire, and after they had done it, they would not help them out of it. And further saith not.

ROBERT BUTCHER.

Sworn to and subscribed this 18th day of July, 1775, before
JOHN DAGWORTHY.

True Copy, Simon Kollock, Clerk.

NATHANIEL MITCHELL, being duly sworn on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that being in company with Thomas Robinson, Esq; and talking of some public matters, the said Robinson declared, that the present Congress were an unconstitutional body of men; and also that the great men were pushing on the common people between them and all danger; and further saith not.

NATHANIEL MITCHELL.

Sworn to and subscribed this 18th day of July, 1775, before
JOHN DAGWORTHY.

True copy, Simon Kollock, Clerk.

MR. ROBINSON'S conduct thus palpably appearing, and leaving no further doubt with respect to the measures he was industriously pursuing, the Clerk was ordered to summons him to appear at the house of William Newhold, on Saturday the 22d of July, which citation is as follows:

"Sir, in consequence of repeated suggestions and informations lodged against you, the Committee of Inspection for the proposed New County, met at Dagsberry the 19th of July, 1775.

"COL. JOHN DAGWORTHY in the chair.

"And after maturely and dispassionately considering the several charges exhibited against you, were unanimously of opinion, that you ought to be cited, to attend the general Committee, at the house of William Newbold, on Saturday next, the 22d of this instant, in order to satisfy them, with respect to the many heavy charges alledged against you.

"In strict obedience to which resolution, I do hereby send you this notification, that you do attend at the house of William Newbold, on Saturday the 22d of this instant, July, at ten o'clock, A. M.

William Newbold's, July 22d, 1775.

JOHN JONES, Clerk, P. T.

The general Committee met according to adjournment. Eighty Members present.

COL. JOHN DAGWORTHY in the Chair.

When ELISHA COTTINGHAM appeared, and being duly sworn on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that on the 21st of this instant, he delivered the above citation to Thomas Robinson, Esq; who desired to give his compliments to the Gentlemen of the Committee, and acquaint them that he did not, nor could not, think of coming before them, unless he could bring forty or fifty armed men with him; and further saith not.

ELISHA COTTINGHAM.

Sworn to and subscribed this 22d day of July, 1775, before

JOHN DAGWORTHY.

True Copy, Simon Kollock, Clerk.

The above report, after being well weighed and considered, was unanimously voted to be insulting and injurious.

And therefore unanimously Resolved, "That Thomas Robinson, Esq; be immediately held forth to the public as an enemy to his country, and a contumacious opposer of Liberty, and the natural rights of mankind; where-

fore all persons are hereby enjoined to break off all dealings and commercial connections with the said Robinson."

By order of the Chairman,

SIMON KOLLOCK, Clerk.

N. B. The above 'Squire Robinson, while he attends the Patriotic Assembly at New Castle, never fails to vote with them, as we learn from other Members, while for many years he raises a party here against the same measures.

Robinson Replies.[15]

Sussex County, 12th October, 1775.

Messrs. WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD.

Gentlemen,

A Paper appeared in your Journal No. 1712, said to be published by order of the Committee of the proposed New County in the Delaware government, holding me out to the public as an enemy to my country, as that publication was made without my having an opportunity to controvert the charge made against me, though it has failed of answering the private election purposes, for which it was made in the county where I live, yet it may have some effect upon those who do not know me, and who from their distance cannot be acquainted with the true state of the matter, I therefore beg you will do me the justice to insert in your next paper the inclosed certificate, signed by five members of the Committee of Inspection, which is all I can yet procure, I also beg of the public in general to suspend their opinion until the Committee have examined the matter, and are prepared to lay a full state of it before the public. I shall avoid saying any thing about the charge, except that it is wholly groundless; not doubting but that I shall be honourably acquitted by the Committee.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c

THOMAS ROBINSON.

We the subscribers being appointed to represent the character of Thomas Robinson, Esq; in that point of view in which it appeared to the Committee of that district, lately annexed to the county of Sussex, do certify, that we have not as yet had it in our power to enter into a full discussion of the matter, but in the mean time beg leave to offer to the public, a resolution of a majority of a very full Committee on the 16th day of August last.

"On motion resolved by this Committee, That the proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence of the 27th of July last, in regard to Thomas Robinson, Esq; is illegal, it being drawn up and sent to the press by only

15. *Pennsylvania Journal*, Dec. 20, 1775. Reproduced with the permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Articles of Concession of Thomas Robinson, Jacob Moor Esqr. to the Light Infantry & Gentlemen of Dover.

We are extremely sorry for our imprudent Conduct of Yesterday in treating the Gentlemen of the Light-Infantry with so much rudeness, & Indecency ~~[illegible] their Conduct was altogether inconsistent with the Rights of nature, & humanity~~, beg the Gentlemens Pardon, & thank them for their Goodness towards us.

We do upon our Honors as Gentlemen declare, & promise, that if the Honorable House of Assembly upon the strictest Enquiry, shall find us to be guilty, or suspicious Persons, in any respect whatever relating to the unhappy Dispute now subsisting between great Britain, and the united Colonies, we will retire into private life, and never again presume to act in any public Capacity, as Representatives of the People; or in the ~~Country~~ concern ourselves in any Party or Faction whatever, so as possible, to avoid giving the least Offence, during our present Troubles.

As some Expences must necessarily have accrued by our Detention, we do chearfully agree to pay them before we Depart.

4 March 1776
Dover

Tho. Robinson

Jno. Moor

four of said Committee, when there should have been seven of that body at least to have done the same." And from any circumstance that has yet appeared to us on the inquiry that we have been able to make, the charge against the said Thomas Robinson is altogether without foundation. The public is therefore desired to suspend their opinion in regard to said Robinson until he is heard by the General Committee.

ISAAC MINSHALL, Chairman.
JOSEPH TURPIN,
ISAAC BRADLEY,
JOHN LAWS,
ALEXANDER LAWS.

Robinson Denies the Accusations of the Light Infantry of Dover.[16]

[3d March, 1776, Dover]

Mr. Robinson presents his Compliments to the Gent. [of the] Light infantry of Dover and answers to the question within mentioned That as to any publication against him he must before God & the world deny any part of the substantial matter alledged in such publication. As to his Conduct he says that if he has been guilty of any imprudence he is sorry for it as he is certain he has not by his conversation or behaviour given any cause of complaint. That he is ready & willing to undergo any examination before any body of Members as or may be empowered [*sic*] to hear & determine upon the matter. Mr. Robinson has always & now does consider the interest of america as his own that he has no interest or property but what are in America & therefore they must share the fate of Americans.

The Dover Light Infantry Finds the Denial Unsatisfactory.[17]

3d March, 1776.

The Dover Light Infantry return their Compliments to Mr. Robinson & inform him, that his Declaration of his Innocence, is by no means satisfactory to them, and that he—& Mr. Moore for his Insolence, in drawing his Sword upon some part, the above *Body*—who only waited on Mr. Robinson, with a decent Request—are to be detained *here,* in Custody untill [*sic*] the pleasure, [of] the House Assembly is made known to them—

Robinson and Moore Apologize.[18]

4 March 1776 Dover.

Articles of Concession of Thomas Robinson, & Jacob Moor Esqrs., to the Light Infantry & other Gentlemen of Dover.

1st. We are extremely sorry for our imprudent Conduct of yesterday in

16. Morse Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.
17. Morse Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.
18. Morse Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.

treating the Gentlemen of the Light Infantry with so much rudeness, & Indecency. We are now sensible their Conduct was altogether consistent with the Rights of nature, & humanity, beg the Gentlemen's Pardon, & thank them for their Goodness towards us.

2d. We do upon our Honors as Gentlemen declare, & promise, that if the Honorable House of Assembly upon the strictest Enquiry, shall find us to be guilty, or suspicious Persons, in any respect whatever relating the unhappy Dispute now subsisting between great Britain, and the united Colonies; we will retire into private life, and never again presume to act in any public Capacity, as Representatives of the People; or in the least to concern ourselves in any party or faction whatever, so as if possible, to avoid giving the least Offence, during our present Troubles.

3d. As some Expenses must necessarily have accrued by our Detention, we do cheerfully agree to pay them before we depart.

Thos Robinson
J. Moore

The Kent County Members of the Assembly Protest.[19]

Cross Roads, March 3, 1776.

To the gentlemen of the light infantry company.

Gentlemen—

We, the members of assembly for Kent county, taking into consideration the confinement of Messrs. R[obinson] and M[oore], now in your custody, take the liberty to inform you that the continuing [of] these supposed offenders any longer under a restraint of their liberty, may give interruption to the business of legislation in this government, which may be injurious, especially at this time; we are therefore of opinion that you should release them from their imprisonment, and permit them to pursue their journey to New Castle, upon their giving bond with security to submit the enquiry into their respective offences to the house of assembly, and abide by, and perform whatsoever shall be enjoined them by the house.

We are, gentlemen, &c.

CAESAR RODNEY,
WILLS KILLEN,
JOHN HASLETT,
THOMAS RODNEY,
VINCENT LOCKERMAN.

19. Hezekiah Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* (New York, 1876), p. 244.

The Dover Light Infantry Company Explains the Seizures to the Legislature.[20]

The petition and remonstrance of the light infantry company of Dover, to the honorable house of representatives, for the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, now sitting at New Castle, humbly sheweth:

That T[homas] R[obinson] of Sussex county, esq. having for a long time past been of ill fame, and published by diverse committees in several newspapers as an enemy to his country, and the said T[homas] R[obinson] presuming to pass through our county, and at a critical conjuncture to sit in your honorable house, as one of our representatives, we thought ourselves bound in duty, as we regarded the honor of your honorable house, and the true interest and safety of the public, to take said T[homas] R[obinson] into custody until your honorable house could take order in the matter. Whereupon an attempt being made to arrest Mr. R[obinson] Colonel M[oore] of Sussex county also, drew his sword, and tho' he was made well acquainted with the reasons and principles upon which it was thought necessary to arrest Mr. R[obinson] he swore he would defend him at the risk of his life. Upon this, he was immediately disarmed, and his violent conduct, together with the well known connection between the two men, inducing the company to consider Mr. M[oore] as in the same predicament with Mr. R[obinson] they after mature deliberation, resolved to give them both a like treatment, by keeping them in safe custody until your advice and pleasure should be known. They were accordingly detained under guard for one night and next day, by advice of a number of gentlemen in whom we could confide, they were set at liberty, on their giving bond with security that they would submit their conduct to a strict enquiry before your honorable house, and not presume to sit or do any one act as members, until honorably acquitted of all charges and every degree of suspicion, by you. In all this we apprehend, we have acted consistent with the first principle of nature and humanity. And as we flatter ourselves with your approbation, we hope and expect that a scrutiny will be made into the conduct of these suspicious persons, and that in wisdom you will judge of them, and relieve your petitioners and the public in general of their apprehensions concerning them.

We cannot omit the present opportunity, with humility and confidence, to make known to your honors many grievances of our own and neighboring county, by which the cause of virtue and liberty has, and will greatly suffer—and may be ruined; unless by the intreaties of your petitioners and other good

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.

men, we can prevail on your honors to look diligently and carefully into the ways and conduct of a number of designing and interested men, who, like the parliament of Great Britain, under the pretext of law, rule or order, most assiduously oppose and hinder, to the utmost of their power, the strenuous endeavors of the good and virtuous in all their public measures, on behalf of our threatened liberty. When under covert of authority or the specious garb of moderation, the first laws of nature and justice are violated, if we do but murmur, we are reprobated as violent incendiaries, and loaded with opprobrious epithets. By the dint of influence, a number of persons, the most notoriously opposed to the cause of liberty, and who have made public concessions for the most daring offences, are made officers in our militia, and thus have influence among the people. But this reproach is not the most intolerable to complain of. Men of the most dangerous characters have crept into our very councils, and, if it were possible, would contaminate the very source and fountain of all our hopes and expectations.

We pray your honors, that, after diligent enquiry and being well satisfied of the truth of these our allegations, you will take the means of our redress into your serious consideration, and that you will give that aid to public virtue and liberty which your known wisdom and patriotism will naturally suggest.

And your petitioners as in duty bound shall pray.

Thomas Rodney is Exempted from Blame.[21]

[March, 1776]

These are to Certify that we the officers & non-commissioned officers &c. of the Light Infantry Company of Dover, did not at the time, or any time before the detaining Messrs. Robinson & Moor, receive any Command from our Captn. Thomas Rodney, to do the same, but that we did it of our own motion, with the concurrent opinion of many other Gentlemen of this County.

Peter Torbert, 2d Lieut
Simon W. Willson, Ensign
James Jordan, Sergeant
George Rowan, Corpl.
Jonathan McKnatt, Corpl.
George Goforth, Junr. Corpl.

"Timoleon" Gives a Whig Version of Robinson's Character.[22]

But to explain the attachment and connection of *Dionysius* with Robinson, and the other representatives from Sussex, it will be necessary to give some

21. Morse Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.

22. "Timoleon," *The Biographical History of Dionysius, Tyrant of Delaware*, pp. 17-19.

account of this county, and their election at Lewes, in October, 1775. This Robinson was a man of property, and had been a leader in the proprietary faction for some years. Perfectly unprincipled, and subservient to direction, he of course at this time, became a leader in opposition to independence. With all the industry of interested tools, he, and his associates of the same connection, prejudiced a majority of the people of Sussex against independence. Upon this principle it was, that Robinson and others of the same political creed, were elected representatives of the people.

The whigs bore all this with a degree of patience peculiar to Delaware. Robinson, rendered fearless by his success, and the forbearance of the whigs, proceeded boldly in his villanies. By every means in his power, he seduced the people to break through the non-importation agreement. In particular, he purchased a large quantity of tea, and dealt it out to all whom he could persuade to use it. Having by this time a degree of contempt for all opposition, there was so little reserve in these transactions, that the committee of observation of the county, could not avoid taking notice of them. After a mature hearing and judgment of his conduct, the committee published him in the news-papers, as an enemy to his country. It was upon this ground, the light infantry company of Dover seized upon Robinson, on his way to take his seat [in] the house of representatives, at New-Castle; and demanded of the legislature, that he should not be permitted to sit as a representative of the people, while covered with charges of so malignant a dye. Instead of regarding the iniquities of this culprit, *Dionysius* talked in a high strain of the breach of privilege of the house. An order issued, summoning the infantry to attend the house, which they instantly obeyed. Mention was even made of imprisoning them for so daring an offence. But the spirit of New-Castle county, did not at that time, favor this measure. It was suggested, they must find means of confining a regiment or more of their militia, or they would not detain the infantry long. For many days after the examination of the witnesses, which went chiefly to an inquiry into the offence of the infantry, there was no open discussion as usual in the house. At the ringing of the bell, a minority of patriotic members met regularly; but *Dionysius,* in secret cabal, threatened some members, and allured others with promises, until he brought his measures to bear. Finally it was *resolved,* that Robinson and his associate (who had also been arrested for standing in his defence) should take their seats; and the light infantry were dismissed.

Robinson's Memorial.[23]

[1784]

To the Commrs. appointed by Act of Parlt. to enquire into the Losses & Services of the American Loyalists.

The Memorial of Thomas Robinson late of the county of Sussex on Delaware Esqr.

Respectfully Sheweth

That your Memorialist having been often elected Member of Assembly under His Majesty's Government and as often taken the Oaths of Allegiance thought it his Duty to oppose from the beginning the rising Sedition in the County of his residence in consequence of which in the year 1775 he was apprehended & charged before one of the Seditious Committees with having declared to the people "That the Congress was an unconstitutional Body." Upon wch. charge being convicted he was interdicted all intercourse of Trade connection or correspondence with his Neighbours and the people of the Country.

That in June 1776 the supporters of the American Congress set on foot petitions in favor of a declaration of Independence wch. your Memort. opposed and such was his influence among the people that he prevailed on near 5000 persons to sign counter petitions against it while his Opponents with all their Exertions could not procure more than 300 Subscribers in favour of the measure. That a certain John Clark Esqr. was commissioned to present the said Counter Petitions to the Congress but on his way he was seized by a Mob, put into a pillory and cruelly treated, & the petitions seized and destroyed. That upon the Subscribers hearing that their petitions were destroyed they rose under the direction and command of your Memorialist to the amount of 1500 in order to suppress the Mobs & Lawless Committees and to restore His Majesty's Government within the Delaware Counties that they requested Arms & Ammunitn. of Sir Andrew Hammond then commanding the Roebuck in the Delaware, but it not being in his Power to grant them the people were obliged to disperse. Upon which the Council of Safety then sitting at Philadelphia sent 1500 Riffle [*sic*] Men under the command of Colonel Miles who overran the Country and seized on the persons of your Memorialist with many others and committed them to Goal. That being arrained [*sic*] before the Congress for exciting the people to oppose their Measures he was compelled to give two Bonds with Sureties of £2500 each, one of them to be forfeited if he ever broke or opposed any resolve of the

23. American Loyalist Claims, Vol. XXXIX (A. O. 12), in Public Record Office in London, England, photostated for the Historical Society of Delaware by the writer. Compare with American Loyalist Transcripts in the New York Public Library.

Congress then made, or which should thereafter be made, and the other if he ever bore any Commission either civil or military under the Congress.

That in the year 1776 being charged with supplying Captain Hammond then Commander of his Majesty's Ship of War the Roebuck then stationed in the Delaware with provisions, an Order was issued by the Convention of the Delaware Counties for apprehending the person of your Memorialist, of which having intelligence he was obliged to leave his Family consisting of four Children, and property of the value of £5000 Sterling, and to seek refuge on board the Preston Man of War then fortunately lying in the Bay of Delaware.

That upon his arrival at New York he was applied to by Joseph Galloway Esqr. by the desire of Lord Howe then commander of His Majesty's Fleet to procure him pilots for the Navigation of the Delaware. In the Service he readily engaged and being himself accustomed to & well acquainted with the Navigation he procured a number of Pilots who joined his Lordship and attended him in his Southern expedition.

That in 1777 Sir Wm. Howe requested that he would attend him in his Expedition to the Head of Elk, with this request he cheerfully complied and from his knowledge of the Country, and his Influence in it he was enabled to render him Service not unacceptable.

That in the fall of 1778 he attended Colonel Campbell in his expedition against Georgia. In the year 1779 he was appointed by Sir Henry Clinton a Captain of Safe Guards and was ordered in the expedition against Charles Town under his immediate Command, when he rendered to his Majesty's Service every Assistance in his power.

That in consequence of this uniform and decided part taken in favor of the British Government your Memorialist was attainted of High Treason and all his Estate real and personal confiscated & afterwards sold and accordingly appropriated to the use of the States.

That your Memorialist has a Family to provide for, and having lost his all, and being reduced to great distress, prays that you will take his case into consideration, in order that under your report he may be enabled to receive such Aid and relief as his Losses and Services may be found to deserve.

Thos. Robinson

Inventory of Robinson's Estate

An Inventory of the Real and Personal Estate of Thomas Robinson Esqr. late of the Lower Counties on Delaware which has been confiscated and sold and applied to the use of the States viz:

	£Sterling
110 Acres of Land whereon he lived lying in Indian River Hundred Sussex County on Delaware with a good dwellinghouse Barn and other Improvements	242
182 Acres of Land on Indian River Sussex Co. adjoing. the public Landing and Fishery with a Farm House & Barn	372.4
150 Acres of Land adjoining the first mentioned Tract with a Farmhouse thereon	325
150 Acres of Land on Rehoboth Bay Sussex County with Town House and Barn	300
36 Acres in Indian River Hundred Sussex County called the Irish Tract	72
5 Acres called Piney Island in Rehoboth Bay Sussex County	21
400 Acres in Rehoboth Hundred well improved about two Miles from Lewis Town in Sussex County with dwelling house Barn &c.	1100
	£2432.4.0
8 Negro Slaves	£322.0.0
20 Head of black Cattle	46.10.0
10 Sheep	3.0.0
1 Saddle Horse	10.10.0
A Handsome Furze	3.0.0
Household Furniture	45.13.6
	430.13.6
Debts paid into the Treasury	1225.0.0
5 years rent of the Tract of Land whereon I lived at £30	£150
5 years rent of the 182 Acre Tract of Land at £40	200
5 years rent of 150 Acres on the Rehoboth Bay at £25	125
5 years rent of 36 Acres of Land in Indian River Hundred called the Irish Tract at £8	40
5 years rent of 5 Acres called Piney Island in Rehoboth Bay at £4	20
5 years Rent of 400 Acres of Land in Rehoboth Hundred near Lewes Town at £50	250
	785
	£4872.17.6

Robinson Answers Questions

June 18th 1784

Evidence on the foregoing Meml. of Ths. Robinson Esqr. Thomas Robinson the Claimant Sworn.

Is a native of Sussex County on Delaware. In the year 1774 he opposed in the Assembly the appointing Delegates to be sent to Congress. He was himself named as one but refused to accept the Appointment. He has never taken any oaths to the Americans or signed any Paper. He says he thinks he can safely say that he never has done any Act to forfeit his Allegiance.

At the commencement of the Troubles, he lived upon his own Property, carried on Trade, and managed 3 or 4 Farms.

Says the House of Assembly believing that Sir Andrew Hammond was supplyed with provisions thro his means made a resolve that he should be imprisoned during the War; on receiving notice of this he prepared to make his escape which he effected in the beginning of January 1777.

On Sir. Wm. Howe's expedition to the head of the Elk, he says, he offered his Services to raise men in the Delaware Counties for the use of Governm. but his offers were not accepted.

On the expedition to Charles Town he was appointed Captain of the Safe Guard with the pay of 5s. a day. From the spring of the year 1780 to October last he received 7.6d. a day.

He says that the account given in his Meml. is true, but that his sufferings were much greater than are there stated.

He received £100 a year from the Treasury, which commenced the fifth of January last.

Property. He says he has not Title Deeds whereby to prove his property. When he left Home he packed them up with other property, and concealed them about 6 miles off, but they were discovered and seized by the Americans.

He afterwards obtained at New York the Original Records of the Province by which he hoped to be able to prove his Title but was obliged to deliver them up pursuant to the Treaty of Peace, & he has not as yet been able to obtain Copies of the Registry of his Estate.

110 Acres of Land in Indian River Hundred Sussex County

He says he purchased this Tract of Land in 1759 of John Warrington for £140 or £150 Currency. It was very little improved at that time. He built a dwelling House, a large Barn, Stables, Cowhouses, Store house, Offices, and a Mill, half of which Mill was held in common with another Man. He laid out £1000 Currency on the Buildings. He cleared about 50 Acres, and about 10 or 12 were cleared when he bought it.

Thinks this Land would have sold before the Troubles for 3 Guineas an Acre with the Improvements on it.

By a valuation produced and sworn by Peter Robinson before Elias Hardy, Notary Public at New York the 3d Septem. 1783 this Estate is valued at £242.

By the Affidavit prefixed to the said valuation it appears that the said Estate was sold by the Authority of the Delaware State.

Says he has been told that the person who bought his Interest in the Mill has said he would return it [to] him again if he would repay him what he gave for it. He values it not so high as it cost him which was £200 Sterling.

182 Acres on Indian River and the Fishery

He says he purchased this about 1766 of Wm. Burton & the Heirs of Joshua Burton. He paid 2 or 300 Currency for it. It was perfectly uncultivated when he bought it. He built a good Farm House and a small Barn was on it when he bought it, and he had cultivated 100 Acres of the Land. He kept an Overseer and some Negroes on it. The House cost about £160 Currency. He says he was offered 12 years ago 12 Dollars an Acre for this Land and the Fishery. He had let the Fishery for a third of the Fish caught at it per Annum, which kept his Family in Fish and he thinks was equal to £20 Currency a Year.

By the aforesaid Affidavit and Valuation of Peter Robinson this Tract appears to have been sold, and he values it at £372.4 Sterling.

150 Acres of Land adjoing. the first Tract

He purchased this in the year 1760 of Isaac Heming. He paid £350 Currency for it. About 50 or 60 acres cleared when he bought it. He cleared about as much more.

He says he thinks this would have sold for 40s. an acre before the Troubles.

By the aforesaid Affidavit & Valuation of Peter Robinson this Tract appears to have been sold and he values it at £325 Sterling.

150 Acres on Rehoboth Bay.

He purchased this in 1767 or 1768 of the Vestry of St. George's Parish. It had been originally purchased by them for a Glebe, but not paid for, and they sold this part towards raising the money. He paid about £300 Currency for it. He had built a small Farm house on it. There was a Barn besides on it. He had cleared about 20 acres of it, and cultivated it with his Slaves.

He thinks it was worth 45s. an Acre.

By the aforesaid Valuation it is valued at £300 Sterling.

36 Acres called the Irish Tract.

He purchased this about 1765. He does not recollect the name of the man he bought it of. He paid £36 Currency for it. He has been at considerable expense in the cultivation of it. He drained 5 Acres of Swamp, and converted it into valuable Meadow. The other was but thin Land. He cod. not clear and drain the 5 Acres under £6 an Acre.

By the aforesaid Valuation it is valued at £72 Sterling.

The claimant says it is valued at its full value.

5 Acres on Piney Island.

This descended to him from his Father who died Intestate.

It was valuable from a Fishery on it.

It is valued in the afsd. Valuatn. at £21. The Claimt. says he thinks it fully worth that.

400 Acres in Rehoboth Hundred near Lewis Town.

This was given him by his Father previous to his death. He died in April 1759. His Father had resided upon it. There was a very good Dwelling house, Stables, and Outhouses. He himself built Barns. It was near Lewis Town within 2 miles, wch. made it more valuable particularly. The Timber. About half was under Cultivation. He thinks it would have sold for at least £1100 in 1775.

It is valued in the aforesaid Valuation by Peter Robinson at £1100. He swears that all the foregoing Lands were his own property, and that they were free from Incumbrances.

Produces a copy of a Law passed at Genl. Assembly the 1st December 1778 whereby all the Estates both real and personal of persons therein described (the Claimant being mentioned by name as one) shall be forfeited to the State and sold.

The said Copy is certified by Jas. Booth Mag. of the Delaware State the 20th of Oct. 1783.

Personal Property

He swears he was possessed of the several Articles of personal property mentioned in his Schedule and he believes them to have been worth the Sums set against them.

By the aforesaid valuation of Peter Robinson they appear to have been sold, and he values them as they are charged in the Schedule.

The Claimant produces the following Schedule viz:

A Schedule of Goods and Chattels of Thomas Robinson late of Sussex County on Delaware, wch. was plundered & taken by the Americans after

he had joined the British Army and previous to the Act of Attainder & confiscn. passed agt. him.

These articles plundered from a Friends House where I had removed them for Security.

	Ster.
5 Feather Beds, Bedsteads, and Furniture	£50
24 Pair Linen & Cotton Sheets & 12 Blankets	30
3 Green Ruggs, 6 Counterpanes and 1 looking glass	22
2 Trunks wearing Apparel, & Table & other Linen	45
3 Setts China cups and Saucers and 3 Dozen Plates	15
50 Head of Horned Cattle at £3	150
6 Horses 10	60
60 Head of Sheep 6/	18
50 Hogs 6/	15
4 Ox Carts 6/	24
1 Waggon [*sic*]	10
500 Busheles [*sic*] of Wheat 4/	100
1000 Do. of Indian Corn /2	100
2 Negroes that ran away previous to the Sales of the Commissioners and are entirely lost £20	40
The one half of a Grist Mill sold by the Commissioners	200
	879

Due on Bond to Fisher & Son £125 besides Interest

Says that he was possessed of these several Articles and he thinks them worth the Sums he has charged them at. These were (all but the Negroes & Mill) plundered by the Americans, but not having been regularly taken possession of and sold under the Confiscation Act, was the reason he did not insert them in the Schedule first delivered in.

States a Loss of £1225 Sterling by debts which were due to him part of wch. has been paid into the public Treasury, and other part having been paid him in depreciated paper Currency which has since become of no value.

Believes the Rents of his Estate to have been fully of the value he has stated them at.

Joseph Galloway Esqr. Sworn.

Has known the Claimant above 20 years. He believes him to have been uniformly Loyal. He was an Inhabitant of the County of Sussex on Delaware & had greater Influence there than any other. Mr. Galloway says he was a Magistrate and he believes no man in America ever exerted himself more

than he did to keep the people in Peace. He has reason to think that both in the Assembly and without doors he exerted himself in opposition to the resolves of Congress. Says sometime about May 1776 when it was apprehended that Independce. would be proposed in Congress the Claimant exerted himself & set a foot a Petition against that Measure and got it signed by 5000 People. The person who was intrusted with this Petition was taken up at Dover, and the Petition taken from him, upon which the Subscribers rose in Arms. This caused the Congress to send down Colonel Miles with 1500 Men to suppress the rising, & by him Mr. Robinson was taken up and imprisoned, and was forced to sign a Bond to obey the Orders of Congress. Confirms the Claimants account of his having procured Pilots for Lord Howe. He says that on the expedition to the head of Elk, the claimt. came on board the Ship where he was and informed him that he had made an offer to Sir Wm. Howe thro Col. Balfour that if he would land him in the Delaware Counties with 500 Men & a few pieces of cannon he would undertake to march up the Peninsula destroy all the Magazines in the country procure Horses for the army and join them at the Head of his numerous Friends at any place that should be appointed whom he conceived wod. amount to 6000 Men. He told him that Colonel Balfour had said that Sir William Howe thought it too dangerous an expedition to be entrusted to him.

Says Mr. Robinson was esteemed as a Man of considerable property in the lower Counties on Delaware. Was a most excellent Magistrate & a man of fair & honest Character.

The Revd. John Patterson late of Kent County Maryland. Sworn.

Knew the Claimant by Character, but was not personally acquainted with him till he saw him in Philadelphia with Sir William Howe's Army.

He was esteemed a Man of good Character. In 1771 or 1772 Mr. Patterson lived in the next County to him tho' in a different Government. He was looked upon as the head of the Church Party, who were generally Loyal. He has been on his Estate but don't know the quantity of it. He was tho't to be a Man of the first property in those parts. He says that the country in general thereabouts has not a good appearance, and in passing thro' it the Claimant's Estates took his Eye from bearing a better appearance than the general face of it. It looked like a village.

He says he knew a Mr. Peter Robinson in New York who was the Claimant's Brother, does not know him by Character.

June 26, 1784

Samuel Roland Fisher, A Quaker on his Affirmation declares

Says Mr. Robinson carried on a considerable Trade. He was a Man of considerable property. He understood that his Brother and himself carrd. on business together and had a Landed Estate. The Claimant's share of wch. he thinks might be worth £3000 Sterlg.

Says he left America about 12 Months ago, and that he knows all the Claimant's landed and moveable property that could be got at has been sold.

Says he knows the Claimant to be a man of steady loyalty & unblemished reputation.

Land

He knew the Tract the Claimant lived upon in Indian River Hundred it was one of the most valuable Tracts he had, but he can't speak to the particular value of it.

Negroes

Knows the Claimant had several Negroes, these were the joint property of him and his Brother, and have been divided & his part sold.

Says from his knowledge of the Man he is of opinion that he would not charge anything more for his property than he really had.

Says the Claimant & his Brother Peter are indebted to their House (the House of Joshua Fisher & Sons of Philadelphia) about £1000 Currency.

Daniel Coxe Esqr. Sworn

Says there can be no doubt of the Loyalty of the Claimant. He is a Man of Excellent character both as a Loyalist and a Man of Integrity.

Says that he has understood the Claimant to be a Man of Property in general, but cannot speak to the particulars of it.

Says he knows that the Claimant headed 1500 Men in the lower Counties in opposition to Congress.

Says that he knew of Mr. Robinson's having possession of the Records of the Delaware State, as he stated in his Evidence.

Says the Claimant had been in Trade but was so much before hand in the World as to be able to retire from it.

The Claimt. again Sworn

Says the day before he came off he gave a Deed of Sale of all his Property to his Brother Peter in hopes of saving it. By a Law of the Province no conveyance of this kind was valid unless registered in Court within 30

days. As under the Circumstances he was in this could not be done, his Brother was not permitted to take advantage of this, but the property was sold.

As to the 400 Acres in Rehoboth Hundred

He says that this was intailed upon his Children, he had only a Life Interest in it. His Interest in it has been purchased by two Men who have cut down his Timber on it, and he thinks the Timber alone worth all that the Tract is appraised at. He says they might have sold the Timber for as much as it valued at.

He says that no Quit Rents had been paid for his Lands for 60 or 70 Years owing to a dispute between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, but they are valued subject to the Quit Rent.

He says notwithstanding the Wood has been cut off the Land he is of opinion that it is worth what he valued it at, and that the Appraisemt. his Brother has made was much under its value.

If he had rented out the Rehoboth Farm, it would have let for 50 or £60 Currency a year, it was within 2 miles of a landing and a Town.

He was born in July 1730.

Produces Certificate from Sir Henry Clinton dated 21st June 1784 to Loyalty.

The Claimant Resworn

Says that Peter Robinson who appraised his Property was his Brother.

Gave Deeds of Sale to his Brother Peter Robinson of all his Property, the validity thereof has been since tried in the Courts, and his Brother was cost with £1500 costs.

Robinson Estimates the Amount of Commerce Along the Streams in Lower Delaware.[24]

May 11th, 1780

Robert Alexander Esqr.

Sir

I her [*sic*] Send you a Estimate of the yerly [*sic*] Exports from the Several Inlats above mentioned, as near as I can Judge from my knowledge of the vessels that Sailed ought [*sic*] of them ports.

I am Sir Yours

Thos. Robinson

24. Chalmers Papers, Vol. II (Philadelphia). Reproduced with the permission of the New York Public Library.

The Yearly Exports of the produce from the Several Inlets on the western Shore of Delaware to Philadelphia & New York from 1770 to 1774—

	Wheat	Indian Corn	Oats	Flour sold by barl.	Pork barl.	Barly [*sic*]	Staves	Ceder Shingles	Poine [*sic*] & Ceder [*sic*] Boards
Sinepuction [*sic*]		60000	3000	500	2000		300000	280000	50000
Indian River	5000	35000	1000	400	1000		300000	800000	1000000
Lewis Town	10000	20000		500	100		10000		
Broad Kiln	15000	30000	1000	1000	1000		155000		
Ceder Crick [*sic*]	20000	35000	1000	1000	1000		40000		
Muspillon [*sic*]	35000	40000	1000	2000	2000		200000		
Moder Kiln [*sic*]	30000	40000	1000	2000	1000		75000		
Jones Crick	40000	30000	1000	1000	500	1000	40000		
Little Crick	45000	30000	2000	2000	300	5000	20000		
Duck Crick	75000	50000	2000	3000	1000	8000	20000		
	275000	370000	13000	13400	9900	14000	1160000	1080000	1050000

Robinson's Son Joins Him.[25]

New York 23 June 1780

Mr. Peter Robinson
Dear Brother

As the Poilots [*sic*] has obtaind. a flag for to go to Lewis Town for their familys [*sic*] I must beg that you will send by the flag my son Thomas. If Mrs. Wiltbank & Field shold [*sic*] com [*sic*] I hope they will take charge of him, I have write [*sic*] to Mr. Moor[e] to give you sum [*sic*] assistince [*sic*] in taking such steps for sending him as is necessary.

I am with much asteem [*sic*]
you [*sic*] efectinate [*sic*] brother
Thos. Robinson

Robinson Attempts to Preserve the Delaware Records.[26]

New York July 11th 1780.

To His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton Knight of the most Honorable Order of the Bath, General, and Commander in Chief &c &c

The Memorial of Thomas Robinson late of the Government of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware Sheweth

That the public Records of the said Government were in 1777 taken at Wilmington by a Detachment of His Majesty's Troops, and from thence removed to Philadelphia, at which place many of them were lost & destroy'd.

That your Memorialist Claiming property in that Government where

25. Letter marked "copy" in "Thomas Robinson Estate File," Historical Society of Delaware.

26. Revolutionary Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

he resided and from whence he has been compelled to remove; is greatly interrested [*sic*] in the Preservation of those Records.

Your Memorialist requests an Order from your Excellency to take into his possession these Records, for the safe Custody of which he will be answerable, subject at all times to such Directions as your Excellency may please to make for their further disposal.

T Robinson

The Request is Granted.[27]

Head Qrs. Nov. 8th 1780

Mr. Thomas Robertson [*sic*]
Sir

You will search for and take charge of the Records belonging to the lower Counties of Delaware and Report to the Commander in Chief the State of them, and what Places you found them.

&c &c
O.D.

Peter Robinson is Asked to Aid Cornwallis.[28]

New York Sept 17th 1781

[Mr. Peter Robinson]
Sir

The Commander in Chief being very desirous of Establishing some mode of Correspondance [*sic*] to enable him to hear weekly from Lord Cornwallis, he has directed & impowered us to enter into & carry on such a correspondence. We have by the recommendation of your brother (who is our worthy & particular acquaintance) taken the Liberty of addressing ourselves to you. The method we at present think of most likely to succeed is that you should engage some honest, trusty, man that you can depend on, to go once a week down to any place on the Bayside most convenient to be put over to Lord Cornwallis, with such dispatches as shall be sent from Hence for his Lordship & to bring back whatever may be sent in return by him. If you think it will not be so proper or safe for the man you send to Cross the Bay, a second person who lives at the Bayside may be imployed to go over with the dispatches & bring back the answers to the first man sent by you, who should be directed to deposit them in a secret, secure place, at the Light House or some where

27. Revolutionary Papers, William L. Clements Library.
28. Revolutionary Papers, William L. Clements Library. This unaddressed letter was apparently written to Peter Robinson and was in the same envelope as the following letter.

near to the water side on your shore, to which place we will send a whale boat regularly to take them away & to leave our dispatches in the same place for the man you imploy to carry on to Lord Cornwallis, to a particular spot we conclude you will point out to the bearer of this. By this method the persons we send from here will never know any thing of you. This appears to us to be the best way a thing of this kind can be carried on. But if you can form any other more to your satisfaction, you are at Liberty to make any alterations you please. The men you imploy shall be paid ten guineas Cash, for every Trip they make, & if at any time you think they may deserve more for any Extraordinary Exertions, they may make they shall be paid whatever you recommend.

As this matter may probably put you to some expence & trouble you may be assured that every Expence shall be paid you and a handsome Allowance made you for your trouble friendship and fidelity, in this matter—

We hope you will Excuse our taking this freedom being intire strangers to you, but we are enduced to do it from the good character we have of you & of your inclination to serve your Country—

We are your Most Obt. Humble
Servants
Bev. Robinson
Geo. Beckwith

Thomas Robinson Asks his Brother to Aid the British.[29]

18 Septem. 1781.

[Mr. Peter Robinson]
Dear Sir

You will receive a few lines from Coln. Robinson and Captn. Beckworth [*sic*], the contents of which you will be made sensible of. They are gentlemen in whom the greatest confidence is placed in by the Commander in Chief, and gentlemen that will make all engagements good that they undertake. And they are my particular friends, and has [*sic*] the greatest confidence in such

29. Revolutionary Papers, William L. Clements Library. The letter bears the notation, "Written by Thomas Robinson of Sussex County in the State of Delaware when in New York to his brother Peter Robinson." Beneath is the statement, "The above endorsement is in the handwriting of Thomas McKean the 'Signer' of the Declr. of Indep.* G.T." "*and at this date was President of Congress. I. I. C." Competent persons, as has been noted, are positive that it is not in the writing of Thomas McKean. However, the internal evidence indicates that the writer was well acquainted with the eastern shore and Sussex County and that he was writing to his brother. There seems to be no particular reason to doubt that it is a copy of the letter intended for Peter Robinson. It is unfortunate that the curators of the William L. Clements Library can throw no additional light upon the two letters, except to add that they were purchased from a dealer in 1926 along with some miscellaneous manuscripts. Reproduced with the permission of the William L. Clements Library.

persons, as I shall recommend. They wish much to settle a line of intelligence from this to Lord Cornwallis through the Country, and up York River. You was the only person there I could advise them to—that I could think so capable of effecting that purpose; it is a matter of the greatest Consequence if well effected, and as secrecy and dispatch is the two first great points to be attended to, I know you are capable of both. It is expected you will engage an active person, who you can confide in, and who is acquainted up the Chesapeek [*sic*] Bay and able to go up York River in the night by any shipping that may be there, or in case he could not go up York River, would be able to land on the West side of the Bay and go to Lord C. by land, such a person is not to be got, but on the Eastern Shore, I should suppose in the Tangiers Islands, and in that case two may be wanting.

These gentlemen dont wish you to run any risk, but they wish you to put it on such a footing as it cant fail of success, and leave you out of any danger. The matter is to be so settled that the person who goes in future is only to land at some place fixed on by you and him, and so fixed that he can go to it in the night, when the person who brings the dispatch from Lord C. may have them ready against he returns, and leaves what is to go from this to L.C. I have thought of three places which I shall leave you to settle with the bearer, Shattors Island, the pitch of the Cape, and Cedar Creek: but if the Spot can be pitched on with the same probability of secrecy I would give the preference to the pitch of the Cape. They wish this person to pass one week, and if you think what is offered not sufficient for his trouble, more will not be wanting, if this plan is [successful]. Will send you or leave any small letters for your friends or matters what you shall want, I hope no persons living is to know anything of this but yourself, No names will be mentioned therefore you run but little risk.

We in the early part of life was always together, and in the latter always apart.

I wish you success.

[T. Robinson]

Peter Robinson Provides the Record of his Brother's Goods Sold at Auction in Congressional and Sterling Money.[30]

Peter Robinson of Sussex County on the Delaware maketh Oath that the Paper hereto Annexed marked (A) and signed by this Deponent contains a true and exact Account of certain Lands Tenements Hereditatments Goods

30. American Loyalist Claims, photostats in possession of the Historical Society of Delaware. Schedule B mentioned here is not reproduced, as it is simply a repetition of Schedule A, except that Schedule B is in sterling.

Chattels and Effects late belonging to Thomas Robinson Esquire now residing in New York but formerly of Sussex County on the Delaware who was obliged to quit the said County in January One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Seven on Account of his Loyalty which said Lands Tenements Hereditatments Goods Chattels and Effects were sold as mentioned in the said annexed paper marked (A) at public Auction by the authority of the State of Delaware And this Deponent further saith that he was present at said public Sales And the Articles in General but particularly the Lands Tenements and Hereditaments were sold at such Auctions far below their real Value partly owing to the unwillingness of the People to bid but chiefly owing to a combination of Persons against whom no other Person chose to bid And this Dependent further saith that the reason or cause of such Sales was the adherence of the said Thomas Robinson to his Majesty and the British Constitution and that no part of the produce of such Sales have been paid to the said Thomas Robinson or applied to his use but the same have been appropriated to the use of the said State of Delaware And further this Deponent saith that he is well acquainted with the said Lands Tenements Hereditaments Goods Chattels and Effects and that the Paper hereto annexed marked (B) and also signed by the Deponent contains an Estimate or Valuation of the said Lands Tenements Hereditaments Goods Chattels and Effects in Gold and Silver Sterling Money And that the price or Valuation respectively affixed in the said Paper marked (B) to such Lands Tenements Hereditaments Goods Chattels and Effects if rather under but no means exceeding their true just and real Value at the time of such before mentioned Sales.

Sworn at the City of New York
The 3rd Day of September 1783

Before me
Elias Hardy NP

(A)

Account of the Goods &c of Thomas Robinson Esq. late of Sussex County on the Delaware Sold at Public Vendue by Levin Derrickson Commissioner in Sussex County on Delaware aforesaid
Novr. 17 1779.

	Lands		*Congress Money*
Nathaniel Wap[l]es	The Indian River Tract	182 Acres	£960
Simon Kollock	The Flemings Tract	150	1920
Henry Neile [*sic*]	The Chapel Tract	110	3000
William Perry	The Glebe	150	4475
Simon Kollock	The Irish Tract	36	650

May 26 1780

The following Articles were sold by said Levin Derrickson

Henry Neile [*sic*]	a dun Horse	[£]630
Richard Little	a Sulky and Desk	575
Henry Neile [*sic*]	a Clock 780 1 dining Table	875
Jonathan Wolfe	1 dressing Table	90
Andrew McIlvane	1 Tea Table	85
Joseph Hall	a Writing Desk	13.10
Henry Neile [*sic*]	an old Pine Table & Walnut square Table	13.10
Francis Sellers	1 Walnut Stand	7.10
Do Do	1 pair of Tongs & Shovel	31.17.6
Thomas Waples	1 pair of Andirons	39.15
James Walker	3 Windsor Chairs	62
Robert Stevenson	1 Arm Do	25.10
Jonathan Woolf [*sic*]	1 Bed and Furniture	226
James Vent	1 Old Chest	4.5
Francis Sellers	1 Bed & Furniture	245
Nathaniel Waples	1 large old fashioned Table	20.12.6
Do	2 pot Trammels	51
Thomas Waples	1 Bed & Bedding	200
Henry Neile [*sic*]	1 old Table	10
Do	a parcel of old pewter in the Kitchen	75
Charles Pope	5 Oxen	1250
Do	5 Cows & 2 Yearlings 2 Calves	1125
George Mitchell	10 sheep	151
Thomas Colter	Land in Rehoboth 400 Acres	1710
	Negroes	
George Mitchell	a Negro Woman Hepe(?) & Child	1770
Do	a Negro Scipio	5040
Joseph Hall	a Negro Sudgo	4120
John Jones	a Negro Girl Bett	1020
Moses Allen	a Negro Bristol	1300
Henry Niele [*sic*]	a Negro Girl Alice	2300
Charles Pope	a Negro Prince	37.10
Sold afterwards	Piney Island 5 Acres	25

Taken for the use of the Continental Army £34,094.10.0

6 Oxen

1 Fuzee

Debts Confiscated Peter Robinson

Robinson Attempts to have his Case Favorably Received.[31]

N. York, Novr., 1st 1783

[Charles Dundas, Esq., M. P.]

Dear Sir,

As your Brother is one of the Committee appointed to take Cognizance of American Losses, will you pardon me if, presuming upon an old Friendship, I take the Liberty of introducing to him through your kindness, as firm a Loyalist & as honest a Citizen as ever was protected by a State, a Mr. *Robinson,* the most respectable Refugee from the *Lower Counties.*

It is apprehended, & with good Reason that Impositions may be put on that Board, which, by exciting a just Suspicion, may be a real Injury to the honest Sufferer. That the Innocent may not suffer for the Guilty, that Mr. Robinson may be introduced, if possible, with a Prepossession in his Favor, & that he, whose Modesty will not suffer him to speak for himself, may not want an Advocate with all good People, like you, are the Reasons why you are troubled with this Letter.

Any Service of this Kind which you may with Propriety, shew to this distressed & worthy Man will be considered as a Favor conferred on

Sir

Yours very sincerely

G. Waddington

Robinson Asks to Return.[32]

To his Excellency Nicholas Vandyke Esquire

Governor of the Delaware State.

The Petition of Thomas Robinson late of Sussex County in the said State—Most respctfully sheweth

That about the Time of the Commencement of the late War, your Petr. entertaind such Sentiments upon the Subject of Politics, as renderd his Situation among the Citizens of this State very disagreable, wherefore in the Month of March in the Year 1777 he withdrew from the State & went to New-York then in the Possession of the Army of the King of Great Britain, for which your Petitioner was attainted of High Treason against this State; That your Petr. notwithstanding the Difference in Opinion between him & his Fellow Citizens always entertaind an Affection for the Inhabitants of this his Native Country which he endeavord to manifest by every Act of Kindness in

31. American Loyalist Claims, photostats in possession of the Historical Society of Delaware. The letter bears a notation that it was sent to Charles Dundas, Esq., M. P., Lincoln's Inn.

32. The copy of the petition was supplied by Judge Richard S. Rodney, who presented the original to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Robinson of Georgetown, Delaware.

his Power to such of them as were so unfortunate as to be taken Prisoners during the Time of his Residence within the British Lines & also by collecting & preserving the Records of the County of New Castle & other public Papers when they were taken at Wilmington & but for your Pets. Care would probably have been lost or destroyd; That your Petr. having experienced many Hardships during an Absence of ten Years which have much impaird his Health, is desirous to spend the Evening of his Life among the Friends of his earlier Years in his Native Country & for this Purpose relying on the Faith of the Treaty of Peace he has come so far on his Way to the County of Sussex; but may it please your Excellency, your Petr. wishes in the declining State of his Health to have his Mind relievd from every Apprehension that may render it uneasy under his present Circumstances; Wherefore he takes the Liberty to pray that your Excellency in whom he is advised the full Power for such Purposes is lodged, will be pleased to grant him a Pardon for his Offence, under the Protection of which he may be assured of a peaceable Asylum within the Bounds of your Excellencys Jurisdiction; for which Favor your Petitioner will ever shew a grateful Sense.

Thos Robinson

New Castle Sept 18th. 1786.

Robinson's Will.[33]

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Thomas Robinson, formerly of Sussex County on Delaware, at present of Nova Scotia.—

Considering the uncertainty of this mortal Life, and being of sound and perfect mind, and Memory, blessed be Almighty God for the same. Do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, (that is to say).——

First I order all my just debts and funeral Charges to be paid by my Executors hereafter named.——

ITEM, I give and bequeath the Five Hundred Acres of Land that I purchased of Col. Isaac Allen situated in the township of Wilmot in Nova Scotia, being the same I sold to Samuel Moore, which is to be returned to me or to my Heirs, at the expiration of three years, from the day of sale, if Mr. Moore is not able to pay for the same, that in case it should be returned—I give and bequeath the same to my two Sons Thomas and Peter Robinson, and to be equally divided between them, after my youngest son comes of full age, to them their Heirs and Assigns forever.

ITEM—I give and bequeath unto my eldest Son Thomas Robinson Four

33. Sussex County Wills, Vol. A 96, p. 176. Reproduced with the permission of Mr. Leon de Valinger, Jr., State Archivist.

Hundred Pounds in Cash, Nova Scotia Currency; also I give my said Son my Pinchbeck Watch, Chain and gold Seal, also, my Negro Boy, named Manuel, also the Bed and Furniture I sleep on, with my Silver Spectacles and Case to him his Heirs and Assigns forever.

ITEM—I give to my Son Peter Robinson Six Hundred Pounds in Cash Nova Scotia Currency, as also the next best Bed and Furniture in the house, as also my plaited Coffee Pot, a pair of plaited Canns, and all the silver spoons in the house, with my plaited Tea Pot, and to be paid by my Executors hereafter named, after he comes to the age of twenty one.

ITEM—I will that the whole of the Six Hundred Pounds of this Currency bequeathed to my Son Peter, be put to Interest on good Land Security, and the Interest of the same be applyed towards the expences of his Education, or Schooling so far, as the same may be found Necessary for that purpose, by my Executors.

ITEM—I give and bequeath to my Daughter Arcada Cannon two hundred Pounds in Cash Nova Scotia Currency to be paid to her by my Executors, together with my negro woman Priscilla and her Child Sally, as also my will and desire is, as my two Sons comes of age, that they may convey their Right and Tittle [*sic*] of a Track [*sic*] of Land, formerly the property of Cornelius Turner Esq. deceased, and now in the possession of the Coltors, To their Sister Arcada Cannon, to her, and her Heirs forever; that in case either of my two Sons should refuse to convey their Right and Title of the said Land when they come to full age, by a good and Sufficient deed or deeds in fee Simple, then and in that Case my orders is [*sic*] that One Hundred and fifty pounds shall be deducted out of each of their Legacies, and paid to my said Daughter Arcada Cannon, as a Consideration for the same.

ITEM—I give and bequeath to my Brother Peter Robinson a Negro Boy named Philip by trade a Blacksmith, and now in my said Brothers possession.

ITEM—I give and bequeath to Burton Robinson, my Brother, a Suit of Drab coloured Cloths, and further I give and devise all the residue of my Estate both Real and Personal to be equally divided between my three Children or such of them as shall be alive after my Decease.

And, I do hereby constitute and appoint my Brothers Peter Robinson Burton Robinson, and my Son Thomas Robinson to be my Executors, of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and disanulling all former Wills and Legacies by me heretofore made or left declaring, ratifying and confirming this and no other, to be my Last Will and Testament; In witness

whereof I have hereinto set my hand and seal this 26th day of July, in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and Eighty Six.

(Signed) Thos. Robinson

Signed sealed published and declared by the within named Thomas Robinson to be his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us who subscribed our names in his presence & in the presence of each other.

(Signed) Nancy Burton
James Humphreys
William Leonard

Peter Robinson's Appraisal of His Brother's Estate.[34]

Sussex on Delaware
October 29th, 1788

[To .....]

Dear Sirs

Your favors of June the 5th and July the 2d, I received in the latter you request me to lose no time in collecting such proofs as will convince the commrs. that my Brothers claim is just.

When I gave in the Estimate of my Brother's Estate at New York I included the Debts, which I had every reason to believe that by the time I got home again or soon after the Commissioner appointed for making Sale and collecting confiscated Property would have collected the amount of Debts given in by me. But on my return and since I find that has not been done I therefore readily admit there should be a deduction on that amount, tho I conceive a considerable allowance should be made as I have not been able to collect but a small part of what was due and that in a secret manner as must be suggested from the nature of the Business.

With respect to your request in procuring the Oath of the Commissioners I am sorry I cannot comply with it as he has been dead upwards of 3 years, but the best Evidence I can obtain of that matter I apprehend I now send you under the hand and Seal of the proper Officer of the County where the Commissrs. was obliged by law to make his return.

With respect to the Valuation of the Money that the Est. sold for that I apprehend was needless for me to do, because it is a well known fact that the Property sold much under its value, because nobody at that time would attend Sales of that Sort but such a particular class of people who make it their business to buy in such property in club and partnership at the lowest rates which they did do easily nobody appearing to bid against them.

I have agreeable to Mr. Monro's direction I have had two substantial

34. American Loyalist Claims, photostats in possession of the Historical Society of Delaware.

Freeholders to set a value on my Brother's Property which you will find annexed to the Commissioners Sales.

I beg leave further to observe that in consequence of my Brother's Property and my own being undivided between us No persons out there who have been eye witnesses can appraise the Damage which I have sustained myself in consequence of their having an equal right to intermeddle with the Property as well as myself. Hundreds of Pounds would not make me compensation.

I should be glad if possible this business could be urged on without any further trouble as I have been obliged to ride many Miles to get the Papers in the order they now are, notwithstanding my indifferent State of Health.

I am Sir with the greatest esteem
Your very humble Servt.
Peter Robinson

P. S. I am informed that Mr. William Perry one of the Purchasers was the Person who informed Mr. Austie that my Brother's Estate was very much exaggerated in the valuation I gave in.

The Work of Administration Continues.[35]

Charles Monro Esqr. February 17, 1789

Sir

On the 9th of October last I had the Honor of enclosing to you my letters of Administration (with the will annexed) on the Estate of Thomas Robinson which are now in your Office. That Document mentions all the Children the Testator had at the Time of his Death, which were two Sons and one Daughter. The former of which were, and I am credibly informed still are resident in Nova Scotia. Thomas is a half pay Ensign with whom I correspond frequently, but where the Daughter now is I cannot say. Thomas Robinson's Residence was at Wilmot in Nova Scotia, where he had purchased a Farm, but by the advice of his Physician he went to the Southward for the Recovery of his Health, and died at his Brother Peter Robinson's in Sussex County on Delaware.

I cannot conclude without calling your Attention to what you well know Viz. that whatever Money the Commissioners may be pleased to grant to the Estate of Thomas Robinson, will be received by me as administrator, and distributed comformable to the will. I have also taken the Liberty of enclosing to you the Affidavit of Surgeon Samuel Seabury.

I have the Honor to be with perfect Respect
Sir Your Most Obedient & very humble Servant
Charles Cooke

35. American Loyalist Claims, photostats in possession of the Historical Society of Delaware.

Thomas Garrett's Letters To Two Ladies In Britain

By W. W. COMFORT*

THE seven letters from which the following passages are extracted were recently donated by Mrs. Alfred Cope Garrett of Philadelphia to the Quaker collections in the Haverford College Library. They were originally addressed by Thomas Garrett (1789-1871), the well-known antislavery Quaker of Wilmington, to two ladies in Great Britain: Eliza Wigham and her sister Mary Edmundson, who were supposedly members of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society. Through these correspondents the Society sent from time to time donations to aid Thomas Garrett in passing fugitive slaves through Delaware. In acknowledging the donations, Garrett writes at length of some of the cases coming within his notice and gives an idea of the Underground Railway in Delaware in the 1850s, as well as his views of the state of the Union just before the Civil War. The seven letters exist in careful copies, sewed together by the ladies who received them, and were returned to the Garrett family in this country in 1902.

By way of introduction to the letters themselves, attention is called to an excerpt from the Edinburgh Society's annual report of 1854 here preserved, from which it may be seen that Thomas Garrett was a public character in midcentury and that his presence in Boston at the time of the famous conviction of Anthony Burns[1] in 1854 was matter for press comment:

We quote from an American paper of June 16th: "Whilst the crowd were anxiously awaiting the appearance of the mournful *cortege* which was about to convey Burns to the hateful torment of slavery, a venerable man in

*William Wistar Comfort is president emeritus of Haverford College and president of the Friends Historical Association.

1. For Burns see *The Boston Slave Riot and Trial of Anthony Burns*, Anon. (Boston, 1854). Also, *Anthony Burns, a History*, Charles Emery Stevens. (Boston, 1856). In this latter book pp. 142-150 refer to the transfer of Burns through the streets of Boston to the boat, at which procession Thomas Garrett assisted as reported above.

a Quaker's garb made his appearance with a carpet-bag in his hand, edging his way in the direction of one of the wharves. One or two persons recognized him and proposed three cheers, which were given with a will: that man was Thomas Garrett of Delaware, whom the Fugitive Slave Law had stripped of all his property. His farm was sold about two years since in order to satisfy an execution levied for a fine of 5000 dollars under the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Garrett finds himself a poor man in his old age, but he has that which is better than riches, *viz.,* a conscience void of offence toward God and man, and the happy consciousness of having enabled 1853 slaves to change the condition of chattelism to that of free men. Who would not rather be Thomas Garrett carrying his own carpet-bag than Franklin Pierce at the head of the nation!"

As many inquiries have been made respecting the present condition of Thomas Garrett, we take much pleasure in giving the following extracts from a private letter dated 8 mo., 28th., 1854. After some details of his trial and prosecution in 1848 for rescuing a family of slaves, and stating that he had been assisted by some friends to embark in business, he says : "I started again in the iron and hardware business in 1850, with a cash capital of less than 1000 dollars. I paid my interest, supported my family, and saved 7000 dollars in three and a half years, so that I am not quite so badly off as has been supposed. It was not the Sheriff but the Marshall who in Court said he 'hoped I would now *mind my own business,* and not meddle with slaves again.' I told him *publicly* in the Court-house that I had assisted over 1400 in 25 years on their way to the North, and I now considered the penalty imposed might be as a license for the remainder of my life; but be that as it may, if any of you know of any poor slave who needs assistance, send him to me, as I *now* publicly pledge myself to double my diligence, and *never* neglect an opportunity to assist a slave to obtain freedom. This has been an eventful year in the *forwarding line,* more slaves have passed this station on the Underground Railway during the last 8 months than in the two previous [*sic*]. I *passed on* last evening two fine healthy young men, and one during the past week; making since I kept a 'station' 1853 almost 1854 [*sic*] by which thou wilt perceive that I am not disheartened in the service. I was in Boston when poor Burns was carried off into slavery; what I saw there was not calculated to check my zeal in the cause. Thy old friend and the friend of suffering humanity all the world over

Thomas Garrett"

In the next letter of 12th mo., 16th, 1855, Thomas Garrett thanks Eliza Wigham for "a second 5 pound note to assist slaves from our boasted Republican America to Queen Victoria's dominions." This was from the Ladies' Emancipa-

tion Society in Edinburgh. He says: "No less than 60 of God's poor have passed here within the last three months, every one of whom were passed safely over what was formerly termed the Underground Railroad, but now, in many instances, I consider it safe, to forward them in open day on their way North, most of those sixty have gone to Canada. I need not tell you that in a general way they are the most valuable, intelligent and enterprising slaves that effect their escape." Garrett next relates that at a recent antislavery meeting in Philadelphia "a friend from Ohio checked J. McKim [of the Philadelphia Antislavery office who was speaking at the time] by telling him that they knew comparatively little about the Underground Railway here in Pennsylvania, that in Ohio the whole State was converted into Underground railroads leading to Canada, where they went in groups of 6, 8 and 10, and in one instance he had known 20 pass on the road in one day; here E. M. Davis arose and told him that here or in Delaware, Thomas Garrett (pointing to me) had passed 21 in one gang a few days since and upwards of 1950 in thirty years. He replied 'I will knock under, and sit down.' "

Then he mentions his interest in the case of a captain and a mate from Norfolk under arrest for attempting to transport five fugitive slaves but points out that under Virginia law the testimony of the slave will not be deemed valid to convict a white person; wherefore he hopes that the two men under arrest will not be subject to the full penalty of imprisonment for ten years in each case, or fifty years in all. Thomas Garrett then comments upon the state of the Union: "Our country is now in a sadly distracted state; our politicians stand aghast, we are on the eve of civil war, the residents of Kansas in favor of freedom have been compelled to take up arms, Governor Shannon and the border ruffians of Missouri are in turns arming to *put them down,* and I fear as slavery has ever carried the day in this *boasted* Republican Government, they will *force* slavery into Kansas, contrary to the wish of the majority of actual settlers. Again Congress has been two weeks in session, and has not been able to select a Speaker in the House of Representatives, the vote for freedom has mostly been from

100 to 105, that of the North 75, 75, 75, hardly varying a vote for the two weeks, there are in addition 40 or 50 scattering votes, but I fear as heretofore the North will yield, and go, as it has hitherto done, for the Compromise, that is, to fix on *another name,* but the man (who bears it) be as ultra Southern as the one they are now voting for."

In his letter of 9th mo., 12th, 1856, Thomas Garrett relates in some detail the heroic adventures of one Harriet Tubman, a former slave, well known for her zeal in piloting her family and former associates to freedom. He then comments on the political situation: "The Anti-slavery cause is progressing with rapid strides I think, in this country I think the friends of the slave have more cause than ever to hope that the days of slavery are numbered; the North is becoming alarmed at the arrogance of 350,000 slave-owners undertaking to rule 20,000,000 of freemen. I never knew the country so roused (politically) as at the present time; I cannot *vote* myself, or take part further than cannot be avoided in such a tyrannical government, being a firm believer in *disunion* being the only certain and effectual remedy for abolishing slavery. Should *that* take place, the slaves will soon be *free;* at least that is my opinion. I cannot well divest myself of an interest in the approaching Presidential election, which will be settled in about two months from this time. I believe that Fremont would be a more efficient and better President than either Buchanan or Filmore. I look upon Filmore as but a cipher, and very much *doubt* if he will get the electoral vote of any State in the Union. The contest will certainly be between Fremont and Buchanan. Pierce who now occupies the White House I look upon as one of the most contemptible trucklers to the Southern interest of any man that ever held a responsible station in this country, and had even-handed Justice been administered to him, he had long since been impeached and sent back to New Hampshire.

"Fremont is by no means a thorough Anti-slavery man, he is *opposed* to the further extension of slavery, but does not wish to disturb it where it now is but leave that entirely to the States. He says if it be confined within its present limits, it

will soon die out of itself; the South say if Fremont is placed in the Presidential chair, the Union *must* and *will* be dissolved. I wish I could bring myself to think so. I have but little hope for the abolition of slavery in any other way than by dissolution of the Union.

"If Fremont be elected, most likely the present difficulties in Kansas will be settled in favor of freedom, and slavery may be permitted to continue for years to come; but should Buchanan be elected, the South will be more arrogant and overbearing than ever, which will be likely still further to arouse the North and retaliate. When that takes place, the South will never yield; in case of civil war, the South could do little more than take care of her own slaves, and my opinion is a rupture must take place within the next four years, if Buchanan be elected."

After giving thanks for a contribution of ten pounds, he continues: "I have been richly repaid for my labors in the cause of humanity by that Spirit that is ever near to bless those who are willing to live up to the light furnished by an all-seeing God. The number of God's poor who are escaping from the prison-house of slavery does not diminish . . . My list now counts 2011 slaves that I have been able to assist on their Northern journey . . . I have passed a pretty active life till the present time, now 67 years of age and I do not call to mind any thing I have ever done which has given me so much real satisfaction as what I have done to benefit the colored race bond and free. For 20 odd years I spent much time in establishing and attending to colored schools here, as the colored children were not admitted to schools with white children. We have now two large schools entirely supported by the Society of Friends, both Hicksite and Orthodox, and four private good schools for colored children, all taught by colored teachers. Our town contains about 20,000 inhabitants, 3,000 of whom are colored."

In a letter of 10th mo., 27th, 1856, Thomas Garrett relates the further experience of the above-mentioned Harriet Tubman whom he had been able to assist again thanks to another

remittance of five pounds from the Edinburgh ladies. He then enlarges further on the political situation: "Our whole country is agitated at present about Politics, whether Buchanan or Fremont will be elected President no one can certainly tell, but I think most likely Buchanan will be. But no matter which is elected, the slavery agitation must continue till slavery is abolished. The South is becoming bold and insolent towards the North and towards the advocates of freedom. If the North once becomes fairly aroused, they have the power to dictate terms, but I fear that slavery may not be abolished here without civil war. Slaves still continue to follow the North Star when favorable opportunity offers. My list of such now numbers 2028, nothing gives me more pleasure than to have an opportunity to assist them on their way. I hope your anti-slavery efforts will be continued, as I can assure you that the slave-holders and their apologists on this side the water are anxiously watching what is going on with you. I am no politician, and I therefore need not say any more on that subject, as you can learn from our papers all about what is going on here. You will no doubt conclude that there never was a more contemptible or unjust government on earth than ours at the present time, not only in respect to Kansas and Nebraska but also to Central America. Walker[2] in his marauding expeditions is discouraged [*sic*] by the 'man called Frank Pierce' and all his understrappers, more especially Southerners. If a rupture take place between the North and the South, then, and not till then, will the South discover their weakness, for the majority of the whites at the South are poor and do not hold slaves and in reality are opposed to slavery, but dare not express their honest convictions on the subject, for the penalty would surely be expulsion from their homes or imprisonment till they would agree to Southern views respecting slavery; there is now no freedom of speech or of the press in any Southern State except little Delaware and here only in Wilmington. There is about as much anti-slavery feeling here as in Boston and quite as freely expressed. I can have pub-

2. William Walker (1824-1860) was an American military adventurer in Nicaragua. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), XIX, 363-65.

lished in one paper at least any thing I wish on the subject of slavery as I always put my name to what I write."

In his next letter of 12th mo., 27th, 1856, our Friend says he had met at the Antislavery Fair in Philadelphia William Lloyd Garrison and James and Lucretia Mott, and they had encouraged him to send to his correspondents in Great Britain further details of the daring adventures of Harriet Tubman. This he does at considerable length, and then he continues: "Oh how pleasant it is to know that those poor oppressed down-trodden human beings can have a home in Canada under what our proud Republican Democrats call a Monarchical government, where they can rest under their own vine and fig tree and none can make them afraid. How happy Queen Victoria must be when such truths loom up before her. I should rejoice with thee, as would most of the inhabitants of Newcastle County, if our Legislature could be induced to pass laws abolishing slavery in the State immediately. If that could not be done, I would rejoice if they would go so far as to pass a law that no child born after this date could be held till more than 21 years of age, even in that case real estate would increase more in value in 5 years than all the slaves would sell for; as by our laws (except for crime), slaves cannot be sold out of the State, they will not bring here more than two-thirds their market value in Maryland."

He closes this letter with the apology of "an old man for dwelling on a subject that has been near to his best life from youth to the present time. I am of a sanguine temperament, I know I am and may be wrong, but I am sanguine in the belief that 20 years cannot pass by before every slave State in the Union will be glad to pass laws for the emancipation of their slaves and I should not be surprised if it were done in half that time. If they do not do it, the slaves will rise in mass before 20 years and murder their oppressors. That is my candid opinion. May that dreadful issue be prevented by the slave-holders becoming wiser and juster than ever they yet have been."

In a letter of 3rd mo., 29th, 1857, we find a more detailed account of the schedule of the Underground Railway: "I

will now give you an account of the miraculous escape of 8 slaves from Dover the capital of this State, about fifty miles below here on 3rd day morning, the ninth of the present month. They were decoyed into Dover jail about 4 o'clock in the morning by a colored man named Otwell who lived near Milford some 30 miles lower down the country. He had been employed by the friends of the colored people or slaves for some time as a pilot and these slaves had paid him $8 to pilot them near 30 miles to the next station within a few miles of Dover, and I believe he had always previously been true to his trust. Within the last year, he had rented a small farm from a white man *outside* named Hollis, who had been informed that Otwell had been employed as an agent in the underground railroad, and had so far succeeded in corrupting his morals as to induce him to pilot the slaves into Dover jail, when they would divide the reward between them.

"Hollis had gone on the previous day to prepare the sheriff for their reception, the sheriff waited up until two o'clock, and then went to bed, leaving Hollis to keep watch. It was near four o'clock when they arrived. Otwell introduced them to Hollis as his particular friend, and a great friend of the slave, and told them to go with him and he would take care of them. Hollis took them directly to jail upstairs, into a room where the windows were barred with iron across them which could be seen by the light of the moon.

"One of the men soon noticed this and said he 'did not like the looks of the place' and stepped out into the entry taking the rest with him. The Sheriff as soon as dressed, ran up stairs expecting to find all in the room, where he would have nothing to do but turn the key and have them all safe, but finding them in the entry he ran down stairs to where his wife and children were in bed, for his pistols, but they followed so close he could not reach his pistol before they were in the room. One of the men picked up a hot andiron from the hearth, throwing the fire over the room, even to the bed, and with the red hot iron kept the sheriff off until the rest broke out the window-sash, and all then jumped out, a distance of 12 feet to the soft mud. When all the rest were safe, the man gave the sheriff a push

and jumped out after them. Two of the men took their course this way, four men and two women took the back track not knowing which way to run, fortunately as it proved for them, they soon overtook the *scamp Otwell* who had betrayed them. Their first impulse was to kill him, but he begged so hard and promised so fair, if they would only spare his life, he would take them to the house of the friend he had promised in the first instance to take them to, which he did and then ran off as fast as he could and we have never heard of him since. The men were all armed with pistols and knives, and it is rather a wonder that they acted with so much coolness and discretion. One of the men told me he would have killed him at once, had he not thought if he did do it, he would have less chance to escape than if they committed no act of violence, which no doubt was a correct view.

"The next morning after their escape the person who had charge of the six wrote to me and sent a special message up by the railroad, giving me a full account of what had occurred, and wishing my advice how to proceed. I at once wrote to an intimate friend near him what to do and directed him to communicate to him my views, as I could not safely write to a colored man while there was so much excitement there.

"He at once got my letter and all worked well. On fifth-day night, one of the two that separated from the rest came to my house, he was provided for; the next first-day night two more of the men arrived safe. I had been on the road several nights watching for them, to keep them from crossing the bridges which were closely watched. The same day a colored man that had the other four in charge several days, and had piloted them safely over 20 miles and left them with a friend who was to bring them up here next night a distance of 22 miles, came up on the cars. I that night sent two men to meet them several miles from here with directions to cross the Christiana river in a boat, and take them across the country to a place of safety ten miles from town; those I have never seen, but learn they got along nicely. I heard of them several days after, all doing well; one of the men I have never heard

of since he left jail, but feel convinced he is safe, as I should have heard from him had he been taken. It was a week of great anxiety, I can assure you, I could not think of much else; it cost me in money nearly half the amount of your liberal donation, but I have no recollection of any money I have ever spent more cheerfully in the cause."

Such were the vicissitudes of the fugitive slaves and of those who helped them. Thomas Garrett doubtless felt that he owed his foreign collaborators some detailed account of a typical case in his experience. He continues in this letter with some personal details of a financial nature: "Some years ago I considered myself *rich,* and spent several hundred dollars a year in the cause of suffering humanity; when near sixty years of age I lost nearly all, but still had enough to pay my debts, and at that age commenced the world anew, and am now pretty fairly on my feet once more.

"I am in the mercantile iron and hardware business, have a very efficient aid in my youngest son who sympathises with me. The two last years I received aid from England and Scotland to meet all my outlays within about 20 dollars; the money is acceptable, but that is not to compare with the pleasure produced by knowing that my labors for those oppressed creatures meet with approbation and sympathy from the good and the true not only in this land, but on your side the water. I last year received about 70 dollars from England through Samuel Rhoads of Philadelphia, but I never knew to whom I was indebted for it."

It was Friend Garrett's judgment that "neither Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom* nor the *Autobiography of a Female Slave* paints the horrors of slavery in too high colors." In a final letter of 8th mo., 11th, 1857, Thomas refers to passing on "a poor broken-hearted colored woman near 70 years of age, the mother of 13 children. She left her husband and children behind. Her husband's master lived some distance from her. For some offence her master was about to sell her, she secreted herself in the woods two days and nights, nearly naked and suffered dreadfully with the cold. She said she had good

clothes at her master's, but could not in any way get them. We had to keep her a week before she was able to travel. My wife fitted her out with two suits of underclothes, good worsted frock, stockings, bonnet, etc., and when fully rigged she really seemed to almost forget her troubles. I furnished her with money to carry her to New York and sent a pilot with her to Philadelphia."

"As a general thing," Garrett comments, "the poor creatures think themselves almost as safe when they get here as when they arrive in Canada, and it has proved to be so to an astonishing degree; out of 2072 I have passed I have never heard of but three that were taken back to bondage."

Completely consecrated to the cause of antislavery as he was, it is not strange that Friend Garrett held the contemporary federal government in low esteem. Toward the end of the last letter we have preserved he takes a parting shot in the words: "We are here at present living under one of the most tyrannical and corrupt governments on the face of the earth. The whole United States are ruled by about 300,000 slave-holders and their Northern dough-faced allies who for the sake of power and gold will stoop to any mean despotic act."

The Salt Business In Early Sussex County

By James M. Tunnell, Jr.*

SALT, to the most of us in the twentieth century, is simply a matter of flavoring, for which cooks are chiefly responsible. To people in more primitive circumstances, however, as we sometimes realize in a vague way, salt was not an esthetic commodity, but an item of vital necessity. The business of making salt in Sussex County has now apparently come to an end. Its story, however, was a long one, and circumstances at certain periods gave it an importance quite disproportionate to the number of people engaged in it or to the amount of money invested.

The first record I have been able to find in regard to salt in Delaware may be irrelevant to this topic on two counts: first, that it did not have any particular concern with Sussex County; and, secondly, because it did not relate to, or directly lead to, any actual manufacture of salt. But, irrelevant or not, Queen Christina of Sweden, on August 15, 1642, in her instructions to John Printz, Governor of New Sweden, reasoned that if New Sweden was "situated in a climate with Portugal," it was "to be supposed that salt works might be established on the sea-coast. But in case the salt could not be perfectly evaporated by the . . . sun, yet, at the least, the salt water might thereby so far be improved that it might afterwards be perfectly condensed by means of fire, without great labor and expense."[1]

The Governor, however, in his report of 1647 emphatically recorded "no progress." He wrote: "There is no likelihood of . . . salt here, or of silkworms, because here the winter is at times so sharp that I never felt it more severe in the northern

* Mr. Tunnell prepared this paper for the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society of Delaware, held April 11, 1949, in the Old Town Hall.

1. Reed, H. Clay (ed.), *Delaware, A History of the First State* (New York, 1947), I, 445.

parts of Sweden."[2] We presume that Governor Printz's unhappy view of the climate resulted from his unfortunate choice of counties in New Sweden, he having adopted a site sixty miles north of what would eventually be known as Sussex County. Since Governor Printz was seventy-five miles from the salt water of the Atlantic Ocean, we can see, perhaps better than Queen Christina, that it was quite impracticable for him to attempt to make salt from the river water at that location.[3]

During the next century, I have been able to find no written record as to the business of making salt in Sussex County, or in Delaware, for that matter. You will observe, however, that the interest in salt was usually so intensified from time to time during wars that it crops up as an item of special attention mainly during wartime. So it was that the Council of the State of Delaware, in 1776, was so concerned as to ways and means of obtaining salt for the people that they appointed a committee to "devise the best method of supplying the inhabitants of this State with salt," and that committee, on November 9, 1776, made a report outlining an ingenious scheme toward that end. The committee recommended that state funds be put into the hands of purchasing agents, and that those agents intercept vessels en route to Philadelphia and attempt in that fashion to buy whole cargoes of salt. These purchasing agents were then to divide the salt so obtained in equal portions among the three counties, and to deliver each county's share to some member of the Council of Safety in such county, who, in turn, should distribute the salt to the people "in proportion to their several wants." The report went on to say:

> That 4,000 bushels of salt are now wanted to supply the immediate necessities of the people, and that the commissioners appointed to buy it ought to be supplied with £2,500 for that purpose, and that it should be retailed out to the inhabitants at so small an advance as would be only sufficient to reimburse the State.
>
> Thereupon it was
>
> *Resolved,* that Messrs. Zachariah V. Lenvington and Joseph Tatlow, of the Town of New Castle, be and they are hereby ap-

2. *Ibid.*, I, 445-46.
3. See article of James K. Hunt, appearing as Ch. 20, *Ibid.*, I.

> pointed commissioners to carry the foregoing resolutions into execution; and that they be authorized to borrow, from any person or persons who will lend the same on the credit of this State, any sum or sums of money, not exceeding £2500, to be repaid, with interest at six per cent., in three months.[4]

The scheme probably was considered to be a threat to the capitalistic system, or it was found to be unworkable, for we hear no more of the plan.

The next year, however, resolutions were introduced in the Delaware Council in support of a different scheme directed to the same end. These resolutions provided for a loan of one thousand pounds, without interest, to one Col. John Jones, of Sussex County, "to enable him to erect works for manufacturing salt in this State." Under the terms of these resolutions, Jones was to contract to deliver not less than three thousand bushels of salt per year, and up to a maximum of ten thousand. These resolutions were first proposed and tabled on February 6, 1777.[5] Later on in the month, however, the House concurred with the Council, and the resolution looking forward to a loan of one thousand pounds to Colonel Jones of Sussex County was adopted.[6] The terms of the contract with Colonel Jones were as above stated. Colonel Jones was to erect a salt works "at or near Indian River" and, on the other hand, was to have an absolute monopoly of the business of making salt in the State of Delaware for the last four of the five years covered by the contract. Jones guaranteed to furnish at least three thousand bushels a year, and he was compelled to sell to the State at the fixed price the entire output up to ten thousand bushels. He was to be free to sell to private buyers all his output exceeding ten thousand. This scheme, involving principles which must have been quite controversial, nevertheless, obtained favor under the press of necessity, and the State provided the stipulated one thousand pounds. Jones drew out the money, furnishing General John Dagworthy and Levin Derrickson as

4. *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State, from 1776 to 1792* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 6), pp. 29-30.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

sureties on his bond. The importance of this proposition of providing for the manufacture of salt for the general welfare can be better appreciated, perhaps, when we realize that the one thousand pounds the State furnished to Colonel Jones in 1777 was exactly ten per cent of all of the funds granted by that particular General Assembly for the use of the State.

As much reliance as had been placed upon Colonel Jones and upon his proposed salt works on Indian River, those hopes were again only illusory, for in 1779, the Council had to consider the State's position in view of the fact that Jones had received his one thousand pounds, but no salt had ever been furnished during the two years. We are simply advised that the President was empowered on February 1, 1779,[7] to collect the bond. We presume that the eminent sureties were adequate to protect the interest of the State, but we are compelled to remain in doubt about their own success in subrogation.

In 1778, Delaware's president and commander-in-chief, Caesar Rodney, wrote to Thomas McKean in an effort to have more protection afforded by the Continental Army for the Delaware coast. One of the reasons the President cited for the needed protection was that there were located along Delaware's coast a "number of Salt works," and stating that the quantities of salt there produced were "not only necessary but convenient for the support of our army."[8] We presume that even our eminent President sometimes was permitted the license which we lawyers use, which we liken to poetic license, as a matter of emphasis, because the great number of salt works alleged to exist along our coast, requiring the protection of the Continental Army in 1778, apparently were not producing any great quantity of salt, for we read that, on August 12, 1780, there was a complaint in a letter to Caesar Rodney from Peter White saying that White had been able to obtain only one hundred seventy bushels of salt from Baltimore Hundred.[9] And we know also, of course, that during the preceding year

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-91.

8. Ryden, George H. (ed.) *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 261.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 366.

the assembly had favored putting all the State's existing salt works out of business if Colonel John Jones would build a new one at Indian River guaranteed to produce a minimum of three thousand bushels a year.

In 1779, the same year when Colonel Jones' great enterprise was acknowledged to be a failure, and had resolved itself into a problem of re-collecting the money which had been advanced to him, the Council apparently pinned its hope of obtaining salt upon a new source of supply. On May 28, 1779, one William Murray of Bermuda petitioned the Council to be permitted to exchange salt for corn.[10] With alacrity, on the following day, both Houses drafted and passed an Act authorizing the President to issue export licenses for Bermuda trade to persons whose loyalty was known and properly vouched for.[11] We do not know what degree of success attended Captain Murray's activities.

On September 18, 1781, Robert Morris sent requisitions for salt for the Continental Army,[12] but there again we do not know whether the requisitions were filled or not.

For a long period of years after 1781, we see little record regarding the salt business. Daniel Ebeling's survey of the new American states, published in Germany in 1799, in summarizing Delaware businesses, gives this terse comment: "Sea Salt, Glauber Salts, and Magnesia. Of these, there is a manufactory at Lewes."[13] This note attributes a degree of chemical refinement to the salt business which, frankly, I have been wholly unable to pursue or confirm from any sources of information available to me.

J. Thomas Scharf in his *History of Delaware* (II, 1215) gives us the following information with regard to Lewes:

> Along the sea-shore, on the salt lands, shallow wells have been

10. *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State, from 1776 to 1792*, p. 417.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-421.

12. *Rodney Letters*, p. 427.

13. Reed, I, 423. An unpublished translation of that part of Ebeling's *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von America* (Hamburg, 1793-1799) which concerns Delaware is in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware.

dug and the water gathering into them has been evaporated in rude salt-works, put up in that locality.

In the War of 1812 salt was made on the flats beyond Henlopen Light-house, and was sold at $3.00 per bushel. Some of the buildings used were afterwards occupied by Thos. Norman, and were swept away in a great flood, which is still remembered as "Norman's Flood" by some of the old citizens of Lewes.

Perhaps we may be permitted to stray from the subject long enough to comment on "Norman's Flood." It seems probable that this same phenomenon was known in Lewes and Rehoboth Hundred by one name, and in Baltimore Hundred by the name of "Druly's Tide." Apparently, there is some tendency to name such things from the accompanying disasters. Norman's house was swept away; Druly was a sea captain and one of several people drowned at that time in the vicinity of Indian River Inlet.

Reverting now to the salt business, we cannot avoid being impressed by the huge price of $3.00 per bushel paid for salt during the War of 1812. This may possibly be the explanation of a tradition in Baltimore Hundred which I never could fully understand. Jehu Bennett, my great-great-grandfather, used to say that, at least some of the time, he sent the salt he made at Bethany Beach to Philadelphia by ox cart. Since the normal mode of transportation of salt, as well as other freight, from there to Philadelphia was by vessel, if you did not consider the difficulty with shipping in the War of 1812 and the huge premium then paid for salt, you could not otherwise understand why loads of salt would be drawn by oxen from Baltimore Hundred to Philadelphia. After the War the boom in the salt business along our sea coast undoubtedly developed into a "recession," and, in 1832, Joshua Gilpin of Wilmington made a report to the Honorable Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, as follows:

Of salt, there is a small manufacture on the sea-coast, by boiling or evaporating salt water in pans. I have not been able to procure

> an exact return of it, but it is described as a small concern, conducted by poor people, and sold in the neighborhood, to the amount of about 10,000 bushels annually, and perhaps $5,000, [of] which seems to be a clear profit to the State.[14]

From 1832, until the business eventually disappeared some fifty or sixty years later, the business of making salt along our coast gradually diminished, becoming less of an export business and more a matter of making salt simply for local distribution.

Caesar Rodney, in his letter to Thomas Rodney, May 15, 1776, mentioned the "Art of makeing Common Salt,"[15] but it is singularly difficult to find anything in writing concerning this supposed art as it was carried on in our particular locality. There may be some commentary on the subject, but I have found none, and had it not been for the inquiring mind of Colonel Wilbur S. Corkran of Rehoboth, who gave me a great deal of assistance in this matter, and also for the recollections of Mr. Fred Hudson at Rehoboth, who can recall helping to boil salt near Cape Henlopen, and also for the assistance of Mr. William A. B. Dodd, the President of the Rehoboth Trust Company, who remembers when the Hudsons still boiled salt and who can recall early family discussions on the subject, it is doubtful that I should have been able to obtain any real notion as to the manner in which salt was for a long period extracted in this locality.

In the first place, you might suppose that the sea water was used, but that is not the case. The water of the Atlantic Ocean is only 2.79 per cent salt, and, therefore, it would be extremely tedious to make salt from that solution. Further, the ocean water contains numerous minerals other than salt which would render the salt undesirable, without some method of chemical refinement not available to the primitive manufacturers. On the other hand, the Salt Pond which was at Bethany Beach and other salt ponds along the coast were at

14. *Documents Relative to the Manufactures in the United States* (Washington, 1833) II, 776. Also see Reed, I, 447.

15. *Rodney Letters*, pp. 78-79.

times, at least, a good deal more salt than the ocean. Vincent's *History*[16] says that salt was made from the Salt Pond at Bethany Beach at the time of his writing, in 1869, the author commenting that its waters were far more salt than the ocean, saying that it was so salt no fish could live in it. It seems likely that Vincent is in error because I have read the diary of Mr. William S. Hall, who was the proprietor of "Hall's Store," which was the original name for Ocean View. The waters of the Salt Pond sometimes reached his fence, according to his diary, which covers a period from the early 1850s until after the Civil War. Mr. Hall's diary speaks repeatedly of large catches of fish in the Salt Pond and, in at least ten different diary entries, mentions the closing or opening of the inlet which intermittently connected the Salt Pond with the ocean. Vincent must have obtained his information from some source relating to a much earlier time than the period to which his statements are ascribed. Further, the presence of mineral impurities in the Salt Pond, even after the inlet had long been closed, as was more recently the case, probably has not greatly changed and is sufficient to render the salt derived from the waters of the Salt Pond unpalatable.

There seems to be little doubt that the process of obtaining salt in Sussex County was always begun by excavations which were termed "pot holes," just inland of the sand dunes, in places which had been washed and had, to a more or less degree, filtered the waters of the ocean. If the spot selected had often been so washed, the water dipped from a pot hole in that location would be extremely salt. If the sands were at a higher elevation and less frequently soaked by the ocean, the water in the pot hole would be less salt. Determining the exact degree of salinity was the first "trade secret" in the art of making common salt. We do not know what device was employed by the earliest salt manufacturers, but the later ones always used the test of floating an egg or a white potato in the water. If a fresh egg or potato floated out of the water, making a circle at the water line "as large as a nickel," that was exactly the right kind of water for ordinary use. If the egg floated high-

16. Vincent, Francis, *History of the State of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 24.

er, so that the circle would be larger than a nickel, the crystals of salt would be too coarse. If the egg should float lower, the salt would be too fine, and too small a production would be realized from the labors of the men engaged. The texture of the salt was, therefore, determined by the degree of salinity of the water.

The only salt kettle, or pan, as it was called, which I know to be still in existence, is the one which Colonel Corkran has at "The Homestead," at Rehoboth, which he and Mrs. Corkran have now converted into a fish and lily pond. It measures four feet in diameter inside, and four feet, two inches on the outside, being in shape the half of a sphere. It will contain approximately one hundred twenty-five gallons.

These pots or "pans," as they were called, were equipped with trunnions at each side on the order of an old-fashioned cannon, to permit them to be tipped one way or another. The pots were set in rows upon and between crude brick walls, resting on the trunnions, there being usually five or six such pots as a single unit. Mr. Theodore Hudson used to use three pots in a set, bricked up in a frame about eight feet by twenty feet, with a flue at one end and a furnace at the other.

The words "pans" and "vats," as used by the early writers about salt, would cause one to think that perhaps evaporation by the heat of the sun was extensively used in this operation. Since the people who have recollections about the salt business invariably call these huge iron pots which were used for boiling salt "pans," it causes one to wonder whether any method was in extensive use except the one which was most recently employed, that is, of boiling the salt.

Mr. Theodore Hudson, who died some ten years ago, told Colonel Corkran that the salt boiling operations usually obtained ninety pounds of salt from one filling of the kettle. Colonel Corkran went down to the alleged location of the old salt works at Henlopen Acres and made a small pot hole, just as the old salt operators used to do. He then tested the water with an ordinary hydrometer and found that it showed the water in the pot hole to be exactly three times as salt as ocean

water at shoulder depth. We know that the Atlantic Ocean is 2.79 per cent salt. That would mean that the particular pot hole which Colonel Corkran tested, being three times as salt as the ocean, would be 8.37 per cent salt. One hundred twenty-five gallons of pure water would weigh about a thousand pounds. Salt water, we may suppose, from Mr. Hudson's statement that people used to obtain ninety pounds from a kettle, would therefore weigh about one thousand ninety pounds. Taking Mr. Hudson's estimate, if you then multiply 1,090 pounds by 8.37 per cent, you get 91.23 pounds of salt, which is within one and one-half pounds of what Mr. Hudson recalled was their average experience.

The greatest labor in boiling salt was always in obtaining the fuel. Nearly all locations where the right kind of brine was obtainable were places where wood did not abound. Wood, of course, was the fuel used, and with a good hot fire, it did not take many hours to reduce the brine to the point where it could not safely be burned or boiled any further. This thick residue was then put in bins to dry and frequently stirred during that process to avoid having it cake into a mass. That is all there was to the process.

In the early days the making of salt was carried on in several principal locations. There are numerous patents upon tracts of land south of Bethany Beach, and particularly at Fenwick's Island, with such names as "Salt Springs." I know of only one person, though, who can remember actually seeing the old salt works at Fenwick's in operation, and that is Mr. James M. Evans of Ocean View, who is now 91 years of age. He says he can distinctly remember when Nathaniel and Joshua Tunnell boiled salt at that location. The salt works at Fenwick's Island finally ceased doing business by, or shortly before, 1875.

People can remember when the signs of old salt works were plainly evident north of Bethany Beach, a short distance south of what is known as "Cotton Patch Hills." The places where the old pot holes had been were treacherous under foot, reputedly because of "salt springs," and they showed by the

different colored grass where the excavations had formerly been made. Tradition has it, however, in a vague way that the older and principal salt works were on the old natural inlet to Indian River Bay, which was just to the north of Cotton Patch Hills, a considerable distance south of the present Indian River Inlet. It is the output from these locations at Fenwick's Island and north of Bethany Beach which was known as the Baltimore Hundred supply of salt, and this is the location where Peter White was able to obtain only one hundred seventy bushels of salt, as mentioned in the letter to Caesar Rodney of August 12, 1780 (*supra*).

At Rehoboth, although no history seems to have commented upon it, tradition has it that there was a very ancient stand for the salt business. The *Atlas of Delaware* of 1868[17] shows the "salt factory" to have been then conducted by one H. F. Hepburn on the old Marsh property, which is now known as "Henlopen Acres." It was to this spot, as we mentioned, that Colonel Corkran went to test the salinity of the water. As recently as 1930, which was the beginning date of the development of Henlopen Acres, the shallow residue of the old pond which was known as "Gordon's Pond," or "Gourden's Pond," remained. It had been principally drained by the digging of the Lewes and Rehoboth Canal, and was eventually filled in altogether by the material which Colonel Corkran obtained from his yacht basin. That particular land was later owned by the Dodds, and the ancestors of Mr. William A. B. Dodd, whom we mentioned before, used to make salt every autumn when their farm duties were completed. This they continued to do regularly until about the year 1876. The Dodds used to make the salt in their day in connection with the work of clearing land for "new ground." The Dodds cleared huge fields and used the lapwood, stumps, and similar material as their fuel for the salt operation. In the fall, after the work of the farm was "laid by," they would go down to the scene of the old Gordon salt works and obtain hogsheads of brine. They used rolling hogsheads, pulled by team from the pot holes where the

17. *Atlas of the State of Delaware* (Philadelphia: Pomeroy and Beers, 1868), p. 89.

water was obtained to the old Dodd homestead, just inland of Rehoboth, and then, about a hundred yards from the old home of Mr. Dodd, the salt was "boiled." These Dodd operations were relatively more recent, and the salt was usually sold in Millsboro, Lewes, and neighboring towns in Sussex County. It was usually used for the curing of meat, being made, sold, and used in the early winter.

All of the writers comment upon the salt operations at Lewes, and there seems to be little doubt that that was the location of one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of such operations. It is interesting to note that just south of Cape Henlopen was also the spot where those operations were last conducted on any commercial scale. Mr. Theodore Hudson, who was Colonel Corkran's informant, and Mr. Fred Hudson, who has talked to me of his recollections, actually watched and assisted in the making of salt there. That particular spot was used because it was desirable from a point of view of quality of water, of course, but more especially because it was public land, and the vast quantity of wood required for those operations was simply poached from the public domain. When, toward the end of the last century, a stop was put to the unrestricted cutting of timber in the vicinity of Cape Henlopen, the salt boiling business came to a halt, we presume, forever.

It is not contended that the business of making salt in Sussex County was ever a major factor in the economy. But it was important enough so that it could be properly called a "business," and circumstances at certain times gave it a relatively high order of importance. The principal excuse for investigating it has been that we seem to be at exactly that point in time where it is still possible to find one or two persons who have a reliable first hand recollection, and several reliable people who can recall being told things about the salt business. There does not seem to be very much in print on the subject.

News Notes and Book Reports

THE staff of the Historical Society has recently been reorganized and expanded. Miss Gertrude Brincklé, who has served as librarian for several years, has been appointed to the position of executive secretary, and Miss Ruthanna Hindes, assistant librarian of the Society since 1945, succeeds Miss Brincklé as librarian. The new member of the staff, Mrs. George G. Windell, has been copy editor of the *Missouri Historical Review* and was formerly a member of the Department of History of the University of Delaware.

Exhibits on display in recent months in the Old Town Hall by the Historical Society have attracted notice in Wilmington newspapers and among the visitors to the Museum. One exhibit, which centered about John Dickinson, included photographs of his mansion near Dover, Kingston-Upon-Hull, and his Wilmington home, which once stood at Eighth and Market streets; an autograph letter showing his sympathy with agricultural distress in Kent County; two manuscript notebooks of memoranda of cases which he heard during his studies in the Middle Temple, London, 1754-1757; and a copy of the first volume of Dickinson's *Political Writings,* published by Bonsal & Niles, Wilmington, in 1801, which was a presentation copy from Caesar A. Rodney in October, 1803, to his friend, John Randolph, in which Rodney wrote that "the paper [of this book] was made in Delaware, the work printed and bound there, and all the materials are the produce of that state."

A late December exhibit was a showing of Christmas seals of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, dating from the first one created by the late Miss Emily P. Bissell of Wilmington to the present design of 1949.

Plans for the celebration of the tercentenary anniversary of the landing of the Dutch in New Castle in 1651 were discussed during a four-hour session on December 10 of the Institute of Delaware History and Culture. The meeting, held in Brown Hall, University of Delaware, at which Dr. John A. Munroe, chairman of the Institute, presided, was addressed by the following officers of Historic New Castle, Incorporated: Colonel Daniel Moore Bates, president; James T. Eliason, Jr., trustee, both also members of the Tercentenary Commission; and Albert Kruse, architect for the corporation. Interested leaders in public and private life from all parts of the state pledged co-operation in promoting the success of the activities of the Tercentenary Commission.

At a meeting of the Dutch Tercentenary Commission in New Castle on November 30, Miss Jeannette Eckman of Wilmington was appointed historian

of the Commission and spoke on the early Dutch occupation of the area. Miss Eckman, an authority on Delaware history and particularly New Castle, served on the Swedish Tercentenary Commission of 1938 and is at present engaged in revising for immediate publication the Federal Writers' work, *New Castle on the Delaware,* which she supervised when it was published in 1936.

Newspapers, the ephemeral but indispensable record of daily living, permit more exact reconstructions of the past and hence are the staff of life for historical research. The Historical Society has recently received complete copies of a Wilmington newspaper, the *Wilmingtonian and Daily Register,* for a four-year period, as well as scattered single issues of other newspapers published during the nineteenth century. The volumes of the *Wilmingtonian and Daily Register,* whose title was changed after November 10, 1825, to that of the *Wilmingtonian and Daily Advertiser,* cover the period from June 13, 1823, to September 13, 1827. The issues, bound in two volumes, were the gift of H. Rodney Sharp. This publication parallels and adds to the coverage of Delaware history by other Wilmington newspapers of the same period in the files of the Historical Society. Among the news items of the *Wilmingtonian* is a lengthy account of the visit of Lafayette to Wilmington, October 6, 1824, in which the French general is described as leaning on the arm of Louis McLane and entering the Old Town Hall to proceed to the upper floor for a banquet and levée in his honor.

The Historical Society has received the following single issues of Delaware newspapers through the courtesy of the listed donors: the *Wilmingtonian and Daily Advertiser*, April 13, 1826, and the *Delaware Weekly Republican,* October 26, 1865, from Miss Mary T. Bringhurst of Wilmington; *the Delaware Gazette,* September 28, 1832, and the *American Watchman,* May 17, 1836, from Miss Elizabeth Peach of Wilmington; and a collection of four issues of early Delaware newspapers from the Chester County Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

According to the diary of Colonel Thomas Rodney of Dover, Revolutionary patriot and brother of Caesar Rodney, the colonel was concerned during the early autumn of 1800, along with family matters and political jottings, with the law of inheritance. The diary, recently purchased by the Historical Society, was composed between August 1 and September 23, 1800. Rodney submitted on August 20 a lengthy letter on the interpretation of the law by the Federalists, with whom he disagreed, to the editor of the *Mirror of the Times and General Advertiser* in Wilmington. When the communication

did not appear immediately, the colonel upbraided Editor James Wilson for the omission by citing that "the freedom of the press was guaranteed by the Constitution for the very purpose of publicly discussing the Laws." After the receipt of Rodney's letter, the editor, who had received "about a Quire of Manuscript," plaintively promised his readers that the flood of letters to his office would be "disposed of the best way that offers." Thereafter, the original letter of Rodney duly appeared in the columns of the *Mirror* on October 11, but too late for the author to record his satisfaction in his diary.

The Historical Society takes pleasure in announcing the acquisition of several valuable additions to its collections of manuscript books and individual items. Four documents pertaining to a proposed canal between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays were purchased to expand the data already on file concerning canal activity in this state. The items included (1) the minutes of a meeting in Wilmington, June 18, 1793, of those interested in a canal connecting the bays. The committee for Delaware included Dr. N. Way, Dr. James Tilton, Dr. Nicholas Ridgely, Joseph Miller, William H. Wells, and William Perry; (2) a letter in French, signed "Henry" and dated July 25, 1792, on proposals to use the Bohemia River and "Opigiminy" Creek as a portion of the canal; (3) a document, undated and unsigned, proposing that Congress pledge twenty million dollars in land sales and institute a board of commissioners for inland navigation; and (4) a chart showing the elevation of ground between the tidewaters of the Bohemia River and "Apoquinimy" Creek and giving an estimate of £40,000 for the expenses of completing the canal.

Mr. Charles W. Bryan, Jr., has presented to the Society a manuscript account book of John Weldin, a wheelwright. In addition to mercantile data concerning the shop from August 1, 1843, to August 23, 1856, the author included a few personal reminders of his skill as a shad fisherman.

Through the courtesy of Miss Frances C. Ferris, the Society has received as a gift the original manuscript book entitled, "Kith and Kin: Historical and Genealogical Memoranda of the Shipley, Canby, Tatnall, Marriott, Sharpless, and Ferris Families, etc.," written by Benjamin Ferris in 1838. In addition to genealogical data concerning many Wilmington families, the volume also includes some engravings, as well as a silhouette and original drawings by the author. The work has been on deposit in the library since 1947 and was given to the Society by the express wish of Miss Matilda Ferris. A photostat copy of this manuscript history is located in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Other original manuscript books which have been acquired by the Society in recent months are the following: a ledger by John White of Lewes, 1795-1799, a day book of Robert West and Sons of Lewes, 1813-1816, and a scrapbook kept by David L. Mustard, 1883-1897, all of which were gifts from Mrs. Caleb S. Layton of Wilmington; a "Complete Treatise on Surveying . . .," illustrated by drawings, by John Yarnall of Wilmington, presented by the late Miss Mary R. DeVou; and the minute book and records of the West Street Sewer Association of Wilmington, covering the period, 1886-1921, presented by Mr. J. K. Danby of Wilmington.

Dr. Frank Morton Jones gave on November 17 a public lecture entitled, "Reminiscences of a Delaware Naturalist," in Old College, University of Delaware. His address was the third of a series of lectures on topics of Delaware interest arranged by the Department of History of the University and sponsored by the Institute of Delaware History and Culture. In addition to a brief survey of some of his own work on insectivorous plants and their insect associates, he discussed the development of the Natural History Society of Delaware, the contributions of other Delaware naturalists, and the data to be found in the manuscript minute books of the proceedings of the Academy of Natural Science, which are on file in the library of the Historical Society.

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles has presented to the Historical Society a collection of periodicals which records the campaign for woman suffrage and covers the period, 1913-1944. The gift includes eight bound volumes of *The Suffragist,* twenty-one bound volumes of *Equal Rights,* and a copy of the *Congressional Digest,* April, 1943, devoted to a discussion of the proposed equal rights amendment to the federal Constitution.

All members of the Historical Society of Delaware are invited to send information concerning portraits owned by Delawareans to aid in the publication scheduled for this year of a projected volume on that subject which is being compiled by Mrs. Daniel Moore Bates and a committee of the Colonial Dames of Delaware. The desired information, which should be sent to the Old Town Hall, includes the names of artist, subject, and present owner of the portrait, the dimensions of the canvas, and any other pertinent historical data of interest. The volume is to include a list of only those portraits which are owned by persons residing within Delaware, not merely portraits of Delawareans, and those painted before 1850.

Courtland B. Springer, co-editor of a letter of Charles Springer which appeared in the last issue of *Delaware History* calls attention to an extremely

interesting article by Milton Rubincam, "The Springer Genealogy: A Critical Review," published in *The American Genealogist,* October, 1941. While some of the material used by Mr. Springer was not available to Mr. Rubincam, the conclusions of both men regarding the paternity of Charles Springer were identical.

The Annie Jump Cannon Memorial Bureau of Spectral Classification has been established by the Harvard College Observatory to honor the late Miss Cannon, born in Dover, Delaware, who devoted a lifetime to the Observatory and to this particular phase of astronomical study. During her years on the faculty of Harvard, she was responsible for ten volumes of the Henry Draper catalogue of star spectra, which is used as a basic reference in the field, and for classifying some 400,000 star spectra, a truly amazing total. Miss Cannon's office and workshop with her photographic plates and professional papers have been dedicated as the Cannon Memorial Rooms. To continue and to expand Miss Cannon's work, the Memorial Bureau needs an endowment of $250,000 for which the Observatory will conduct no formal campaign but rather will appeal to the personal interest of her friends.

The Historical Society of Delaware wishes to acknowledge belatedly its debt of gratitude to Mr. Sheldon H. Potter of Rehoboth who presented, through the courtesy of Mr. Joseph Carson, a copy of the "Description of the Cypress Swamps on the Delaware and Maryland States," which was republished in *Delaware History* (Vol. III, No. 3), March, 1949. The article, whose author is unknown and which had been originally published in the *American Universal Magazine,* July 10, 1797, was in answer to queries concerning the Cypress Swamps directed by a Delawarean to Thomas McKean.

New Publications of Delaware Interest

C. A. Weslager's fifth volume on a Delaware subject is *Brandywine Springs: The Rise and Fall of a Delaware Resort,* published by the Hambleton Company, Wilmington, 1949. Basing his narrative on primary sources, the author revives Delawareans' memories of the amusement park and the Peoples Railway of the first quarter of this century. His tale, however, begins much earlier, in the spa era, with an account of the Brandywine Chalybeate Springs Company, one of the first corporations of its kind, and of Matthew Newkirk's grand hotel. References to Captain Partridge's military school, which had a collegiate department, and to the St. John's School for Boys remind the reader of two forgotten educational institutions.

The Kinkeads of Delaware as Pioneers in Minnesota, 1856-1868, edited

by Jeannette Eckman and printed for George W. Butz, Jr., Wilmington, 1949, is an attractive publication containing far more Delaware history than the title indicates. Several letters therein printed and Clara Janvier Kinkead's contemporary account of experiences in the Sioux uprising of 1862 are fascinating first-hand adventure stories. Valuable genealogical history of the Kinkead and Janvier families is also included.

Another forgotten Delawarean who travelled into Indian country is discussed in Howard N. Eavenson's, *Map Maker & Indian Traders,* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1949. John Patten, a native of Wilmington, left his home in 1750 to trade with the Miami Indians. He was captured by the French, taken to Canada and then to Europe, where he was jailed for a time at La Rochelle. After his release, he returned to America via England, surveyed a road from Carlisle to Pittsburgh, and twice participated in expeditions to Labrador, where he was killed by Indians in 1754. Mr. Eavenson became interested in Patten as the probable author of the "Trader's Map," which first indicated the presence of bituminous coal in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Joseph A. L. Errigo, previously the author of a history of St. Joseph's on the Brandywine, has recently published a *History of St. Anthony's Church, Wilmington, Delaware,* lithographed by the Hambleton Company, Wilmington, 1949, which preserves many documents and other information regarding the social and religious history of Wilmingtonians of Italian descent. Intimately bound to this chronicle of a church and its parishioners is the story of their beloved pastor, the Very Reverend Dr. J. Francis Tucker, O.S.F.S., a native of Wilmington.

Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793 is the most recent work of John H. Powell, biographer of John Dickinson and Richard Rush and formerly a member of the faculty of the University of Delaware. Two Delawareans, Richard Allen and Israel Israel, play important, even heroic, roles in this story of tragedy in what was then the capital and metropolis of the United States. Wilmington escaped the epidemic and was the "most helpful of all" Philadelphia's neighbors in offering a refuge to her people and her trade. This thrilling and dramatic tale was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1949.

The letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778, have been published by the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, Providence, 1949, under the title *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution,* edited by Jeannette D. Black and William Greene Roelker. Ebenezer David was a

Seventh-Day Baptist minister of Welsh stock. Although his own birthplace is unknown, he was descended from the Welsh Tract settlers, and his father was born at Duck Creek, in Delaware. He served as a chaplain with the Continental Army until his transfer to the hospital service a few weeks before his death at Lancaster in 1778. Among his letters is an excellent account of the defense of the Delaware River forts on Mud Island and at Red Bank, New Jersey, in the fall of 1777. The book is beautifully printed by the Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine, nd includes an excellent map portraying the struggle for control of the river approach to Philadelphia.

Cecil County, Maryland: A Study in Local History, by the late Alice E. Miller, has been published by the C. & L. Printing & Specialty Company, Elkton, 1949. While the proximity of its locale makes the whole work of interest to Delawareans, they may be expected to pay particular attention to the discussion of Bohemia Manor and its settlers, of George Talbot and the boundary controversy, of transpeninsular routes of transit, and of Jacob Jones, the Hollingsworths, and the Evanses.

Another Maryland book of interest to Delawareans is *The Maryland Germans: A History,* written by Dieter Cunz and published by the Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1948, and again it is Cecil County which links the two states. The opening chapter of this valuable study is largely devoted to Augustin Herrman and his descendants at Bohemia Manor.

The Finns in America: A Bibliographical Guide to Their History, by John I. Kolehmainen, published by the Finnish American Historical Library. Suomi College, Hancock, Michigan, 1947, is a useful guide for students of the early Finnish settlements on the Delaware.

Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist, by Anna Janney DeArmond, University of Delaware Press, Newark, 1949, is of especial interest to Delawareans because for ten years in the early eighteenth century Bradford was the only printer in Penn's colonies. He was also the publisher of the first magazine in the British colonies and of the first newspaper south of Boston.

Another publication of the University of Delaware, *Delaware Notes,* twenty-second series, 1949, includes several items of Delawareana. "Mason and Dixon—English Men of Science," by Thomas D. Cope, and "International Justice under Law as Conceived by John Bassett Moore," by Joseph P. Chamberlain, are essays which were read in the Delaware History lecture series at the University. "The Christopher Ward Collection," by H. Clay

Reed, and the "Catalogue of the Maps in the Christopher Ward Collection at the University of Delaware," by William D. Lewis, are descriptions of the collection of Americana presented to the University by the heirs of the late president of the Historical Society of Delaware.

In its issue of August 20, 1949, the *Saturday Evening Post* printed an account of Dover written by Harold H. Martin as part of its Cities of America series. The same periodical began on October 8 a series of articles entitled "The duPonts," written by William S. Dutton and published in five installments.

The December, 1949, issue of *The Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* includes an article by Herbert G. Moore on the history of the University of Delaware. This article is one of a series being published on colonial colleges.

In addition to the essay in *Delaware Notes,* other articles recently published by Thomas D. Cope on Mason and Dixon are "Westward Five Degrees in Longitude" in the *Proceedings* of the Pennsylvania Academy of Science, XXII, 145-52 (1948), "Collecting Source Material about Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon" in the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, XCII, 111-14 (1948), and "Degrees along the West Line, the Parallel between Maryland and Pennsylvania" in the same *Proceedings,* XCIII, 127-33 (1949). The last-mentioned magazine also includes "A Note on Charles Mason's Ancestry and His Family," by H. W. Robinson, XCIII, 134-36.